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**THE GODS OF
NORTHERN BUDDHISM**

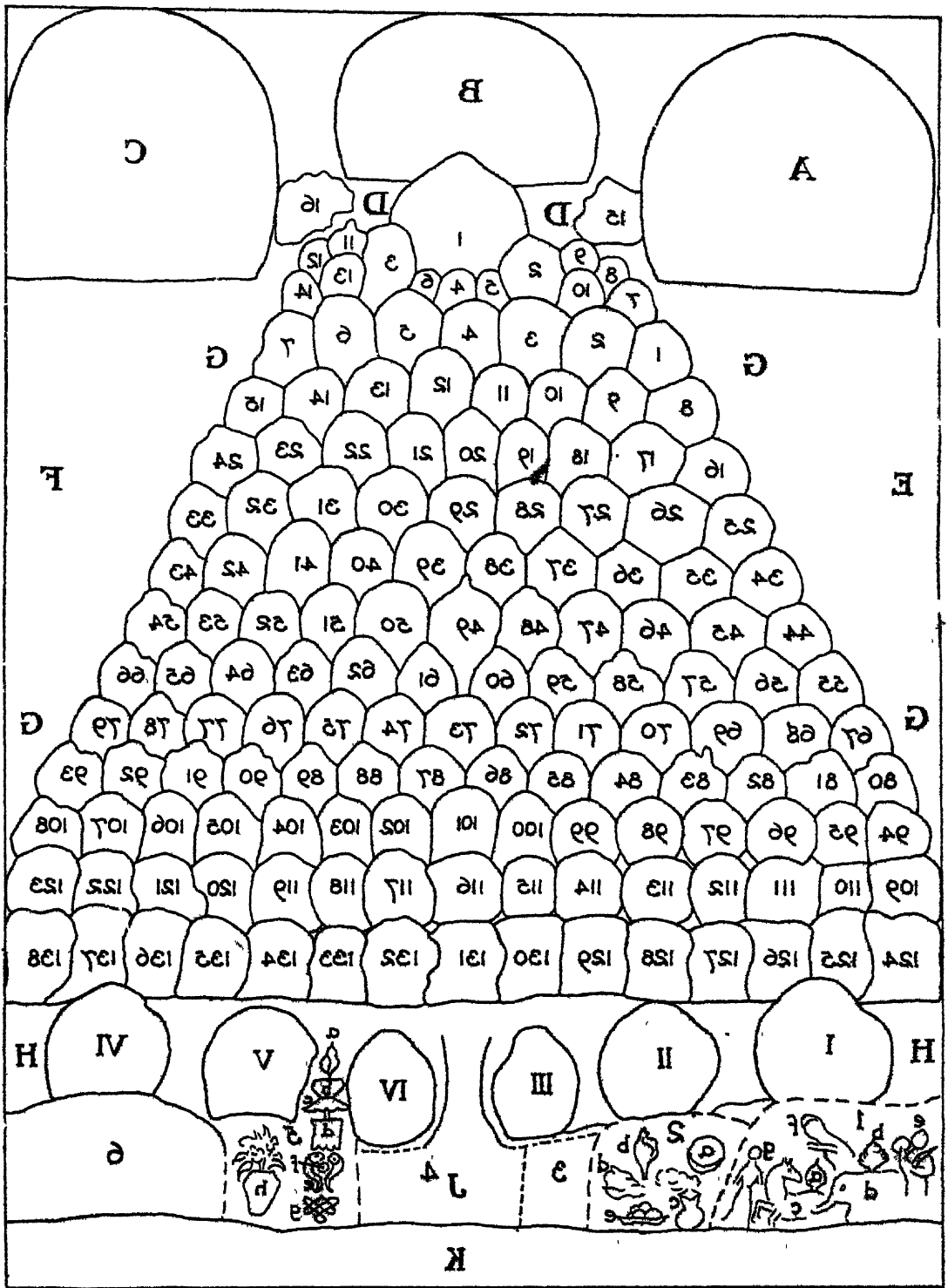
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TSOG-SIN OR ASSEMBLY OF DIVINITIES

THE GODS OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM

THEIR HISTORY, ICONOGRAPHY AND PROGRESSIVE
EVOLUTION THROUGH THE NORTHERN
BUDDHIST COUNTRIES

BY
ALICE GETTY

WITH A GENERAL INTRODUCTION
ON BUDDHISM
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
J. DENIKER
DOCTEUR ÈS SCIENCES

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE
COLLECTION OF
HENRY H. GETTY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE iconography of the deities of the Mahāyānist pantheon is liable to change from one day to another, for the finding of an unknown sūtra in a Buddhist monastery, a fresco in a grotto temple in Chinese Turkestan, a statue in China or Indo-China, may alter the whole aspect of a deity and render a revision necessary. I have carefully noted these changing aspects and have indicated them in the present work as well as all interesting data that I have acquired in the course of my recent travels in the Far East.

I wish to express my thanks to M. Paul Pelliot, whose invaluable criticism of the first edition has formed a solid foundation on which to base its revision.

Mr. E. J. Thomas of Cambridge, in his review of the first edition in the *Muséon*, states that 'many important divinities have not been treated at all'. I have carefully verified this statement and I find that the goddess Mahā Māyūrī, deification of the Golden Peacock Snake Charm, is the only fairly important deity omitted. That she was less impressed by the omission than Mr. Thomas is revealed by the fact that, in Corea, my escape from the bite of a venomous serpent bordered so closely on the miraculous that it seemed to have been due to the intervention of Mahā Māyūrī Vidyārājñī herself.

It has been my painful duty to dethrone the powerful God of Wealth, Kuvera, and put in his place beside the fascinating Yakshiṇī Hārītī, the Yakṣa General, Pāñcika, who only revealed himself after the first edition had been published. I have to thank M. A. Foucher for his wise counsels which have guided me in this difficult and delicate task.

The iconography of the Buddhist deities of Indo-China (especially of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā) has been added, and in this I have been greatly helped by the kindness of M. Louis Finot, former director of the École Française d'Extrême Orient at Hanoi, as well as of M. Marchal, Conservateur du Groupe d'Angkor, through whom I was able to study various statues still in the jungle.

Both M. J. Hackin, Conservateur du Musée Guimet, and M. Victor Goloubew have called my attention to interesting data which I have used in the second edition. I wish to thank them as well as Mr. Arthur Waley and M. Serge Eliséeff who have very kindly made certain translations for me from the Japanese.

Baron de Stael-Holstein has recently discovered in Peking, in the Forbidden City, a series of statuettes of Buddhist deities, on each of which the name of the deity is inscribed. His forthcoming book will be awaited with impatience by all students

of Buddhist iconography, for it will undoubtedly throw light on much that remains problematical in the identification of various gods in the Buddhist Pantheon.

I place this second edition under the protection of Ārya Mañjuśrī himself, for I have not lost faith in the power of his sword of Wisdom to dissipate the clouds of Ignorance which still linger on the horizon of perfect understanding between the West and the East.

A. G.

PARIS, June 1927.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

It is difficult for those who are unacquainted with the iconography of the gods of the Mahāyāna Pantheon to realize the degree of interest that may be attached to even a crude representation of a Northern Buddhist divinity.

To the uninitiated the images of these deities are only of value as works of art, or as grotesque curios, with their various heads and many arms; but to the initiated, apart from their artistic merit, they furnish an almost inexhaustible fund for study and research.

The most accurate source of information in regard to the Northern Buddhist divinities has been found in the *sādhana*, or texts of invocations of the gods, in which they are described with much detail. Unfortunately, *sādhana* of all the gods of the Mahāyāna Pantheon have not as yet been discovered, and there remain a number of deities about whom very little is known. At any moment, however, a flood of light may be thrown on these obscure divinities, for, among others, Mr. Ekai Kawaguchi (a Japanese Buddhist priest who spent three years in Tibet disguised as a Chinese monk) is translating some valuable manuscripts which he succeeded in carrying out of Tibet.

The study of the iconography of the Northern Buddhist deities is therefore in its infancy. With the exception of a few erudite books, little has been written on the subject, and it is only by persistent research, and by a comparative study of the examples in the museums of Europe, India, and Japan, as well as in the temples of the Northern Buddhist countries, that one can arrive at a comprehensive knowledge of these gods and of their evolution during the process of transmission from India via Chinese Turkestan (and later, through Tibet) to China, Mongolia, and Japan.

The Tibetan and Mongolian lamas, from whom one would expect to get much valuable information, are, unfortunately, with few exceptions, more versed in the tenets of their religion than in the iconography of their gods: and as Tibet is still 'a for-

bidden land', intercourse with the Tibetan lamas in their own country is practically impossible. Among the Japanese Buddhist priests, however, there are some very learned men.

Through the kindness of the late Professor Arthur Lloyd, whose death has recently deprived Japan of one of its greatest authorities on Japanese Buddhism, I was put into communication with Mr. S. Tachibana, Buddhist priest and Sanskrit scholar, who has kindly made many researches for me. I have also to thank Śramaṇa Kawaguchi of Tokyo, and Śramaṇa Jeshu Oda, Rector of the Chomoji Monastery at Nagoya, for their help in making certain researches possible.

I owe special thanks to M. A. Foucher for his kindness in reading through my manuscript and, as I am not a Sanskrit scholar, in revising the marking of the letters in the Sanskrit words used in the text. I am also much indebted to him, as well as to Sir Aurel Stein, explorer in Central Asia, to Herr von Le Coq, explorer in Chinese Turkestan and attached to the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, as well as to Mr. E. Denison Ross, officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India, and philological secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for their kindness in giving me opportunities of studying Buddhist temple paintings, frescoes, and miniatures which are not accessible to the general public.

My initiation into the intricacies of the Mahāyāna system I owe to M. J. Deniker, whose general study on the vast and complicated doctrine of Buddhism in its various ramifications will form a sufficient introduction to the subject for the general reader, and will enable him to approach with a fair measure of equipment the detailed discussion of the individual deities, their symbols and characteristics, found in the following pages.

I place my book under the protection of the goddess Sarasvatī. May she inspire her consort Mañjuśrī to draw his sword of Wisdom and 'cleave the clouds of Ignorance' so that in time the West may come to a clearer understanding of the East.

A. G.

PARIS, *March* 1913.

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Design on the cover: Buddhist Wheel with the six syllables of the Mantra of Avalokiteśvara, *Ōm, maṇi, padme hūṃ*. In the centre is his vija-mantra *Hri*. E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, Atlas, Plate xiv.

Key-plate, in colours, to Ts’ogs-šin. „ 180

Drawing from the *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Fondation Eugène Piot), vol. xvii, fasc. ii, 1910. *Text figure facing Plate XXVI*

NOTE

THE Tibetan names are written according to the method used in the Dictionary of Sarat Chandra Das with small modifications, and translated by J. Deniker.

For the Mongolian names, the Ramstedt method has been followed with the exception of the Greek *gamma*, which has been replaced by the letters *gh*. The translations are by J. Deniker.

The Chinese characters are by Kia Kien Tehou and the English transcriptions have been made by Professor Bullock.

The Japanese names are transcribed by S. Tachibana.

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL SURVEY OF BUDDHISM AND ITS EVOLUTION

'*Namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya*': 'I worship Buddha, I worship the Doctrine, I worship the Community'—such is the formula which represents the quintessence of the Buddhist religion. It is uttered and repeated several times a day by numberless Buddhist monks and priests as well as by those of the laity who are at all instructed in their faith. The others content themselves with murmuring ceaselessly the magic formula: '*Ōṃ, maṇi padme, hūṃ*' ('Oh, the jewel in the lotus!').

Now, to give a general idea of the great religion whose followers form a third part of the human species, it is sufficient to develop this formula of the three jewels (*Triratna*). First we shall examine the life of the sole and unique historical Buddha (enlightened one), Śākya-muni, founder of the faith; then we shall summarize briefly the doctrine preached by him, following its evolution across space and time, in order that we may see and understand the forms under which it has existed in the various countries to which it has penetrated; lastly we shall give a description of the constitution of the Buddhist clergy (especially the Lamaite), and sketch what may be called the material side of the religion.

I. BUDDHA

It is towards the end of the sixth century B. C.¹ that the majority of historians place the birth of Siddhārtha, future founder of Buddhism, the son of Prince Śuddhodana and of his wife Māyā. Prince Śuddhodana was one of the chiefs of the tribe of the Śākya in the kingdom of Magadha and belonged to the clan (*Gotra*) of Gautama. For this reason the name of Gautama Buddha is often, especially among the Southern Buddhists, applied to Siddhārtha, in the same way as among the Northern he is generally called Śākya-muni ('muni' having the significance simply of 'wise' or 'saint' in Sanskrit).

The Buddhist books give as the birth-place of Śākya-muni the garden of Lumbinī near Kapilavastū, the capital of the little principality of which Śuddhodana was chief. It is situated in the north of India at the foot of the Himalaya, near the present frontier of Nepal. In the literature of Buddhism there is no complete biography of Śākya-muni, and one is obliged to reconstruct it from fragments contained in various documents,² which have only a single common characteristic—the

¹ For details see p. 16.

² The '*Jātaka*' or 'Adventures of Buddha in previous Incarnations', with their introduction and commentaries in the Pāli language (a dialect intermediary between Sanskrit and Prakrit, the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists), carry us only to the moment when Śākya-muni, after attaining perfect knowledge (*Bodhi*), begins his

preaching. The *Lalitā Vistara* (in Tibetan *Rgya-cer-rol-pa*) and the *Mahāvastu* of the Northern Buddhists supply us with only very few new elements. Some fragments touching on the end of the life of 'Bhagavat' (the Blessed One) are to be found in the *Vināya* (the most ancient portion of the Pāli canon), &c.

surrounding of the actual facts by a haze of legends. The life of Śākya is divided by the Buddhist theologians into twelve 'acts',¹ which can be summarized according to Northern Buddhists as follows :

(1) The Bodhisattva; Śākya-muni descends from the higher heaven (*Tushita*) to earth in the form of a young white elephant.

(2) He enters into the body of his mother, Māyā, by the right side, without causing her any pain.

(3) Ten months later he reappears from his mother's body, but with human aspect. His birth, signalized by various prodigies, is honoured by Brahma, Indra, and the other Brahman divinities.

(4) Despite the supernatural powers shown by this child, who, at the time of his birth, took seven paces in the four directions corresponding to the four miseries of life (see later), he receives the education reserved for the sons of princes. Losing his mother seven days after his birth, Prince Siddhārtha is brought up first of all by his aunt, Mahāprajāpatī, then taken to school. There, however, he astonishes all his masters by reciting to them everything they desire to teach him and much else besides. In like fashion he proves himself pre-eminent at sports. Nevertheless melancholy pervades his being, and he surrenders himself more and more to meditation.

(5) To dispel his sadness his parents conceive the idea of giving him a wife, and he marries a princess of the Koliya clan, to whom the Buddhist texts ascribe the name of Yaśodā or of Gopā. By her he becomes father of a son Rāhula. But not the joys of wedded life, nor the pleasures of the harem, nor his love for his son can overcome in the young prince preoccupations of a philosophical and moral kind. The evolution of his thought is well represented in the legend by the symbol of 'the four meetings'. Harassed by the question of the purpose of life, Siddhārtha leaves the city in his chariot and falls in with an old man whose decrepit air strikes him. 'We live then to grow old and decrepit!' he cries. In the course of similar wanderings he comes upon a sick man and a funeral procession. 'So this is life,' he meditates, 'suffering—then final annihilation!' Fortunately the fourth meeting dissipates his pessimism. Seeing a hermit perfectly calm in his retreat, perfectly happy in his contemplation, the prince divines that the true way of salvation lies in the renunciation of the joys of life, causes of three great evils, old age, sickness, and death,² and in the surrender of oneself to contemplation which frees one from the ties of earth.

(6) At the age of twenty-nine or thirty, having failed to obtain from his father leave to adopt the ascetic life, Siddhārtha secretly leaves the palace, and abandons wife, children, kinsfolk, concubines, and all his possessions. The legend tells the story of his journey at some length. He sets out on his horse, Kanthaka, under whose shod hooves the gods place their hands lest the noise should waken the guard. At a certain distance from his native town he discards his princely attire for rough garments of orange colour, cuts his hair, and so forth. From this moment

¹ Cf. Foucher, *Une liste indienne des actes du Buddha*. Paris, 1908 (*École prat. des hautes études*).

² In certain Buddhist writings birth is added, thus making the evils of life four.

Prince Siddhārtha deserves the sacred name of Śākya-muni or Gautama. He goes forward on foot 'to seek salvation'; but where is salvation to be sought? At this period India did not lack various sects and schools, metaphysical, religious, and mystical. Among the most widely spread was the school of Sāṅkhya, which taught the doctrine of deliverance from the cycle of renewed births recognized by all the creeds of India. Not less known was the school of Yoga, which was derived from the above, and principally developed the ascetic side of its doctrine. To one of the initiated of this latter school, the monk Alāra (or Arāda)-Kālāma, Śākya-muni applies on reaching the town of Vaiśālī. Dissatisfied, however, with the monk's teaching, he continues his journey and comes to Rājagṛīha, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha, where, after refusing the offer made by King Bimbisāra of a share of the throne, he retires to the mountains and follows the teaching of a celebrated Yogist, the ascetic Udraka Rāmaputra. In its desire to emphasize the originality of the doctrine of Buddha, the legend describes him as equally little satisfied with the instructions of this philosopher, but we are forced to believe that as a matter of fact the young ascetic benefited by the teaching of several masters, for we find in Buddhism more than one fundamental feature of the doctrines of Sāṅkhya, of Yoga, and of other contemporary schools (see later).

(7) The legend shows us Śākya-muni, wearied at last of all these false teachers, seeking in the mortification of the body the solution of the problems which vex him. Leaving the country of Magadha, he retires with five disciples whom he has succeeded in gathering about him, to a desert place in the small district of Urubilvā near Gayā. There for six years he gives himself over to the most painful mortifications; he attains to the consumption of a single grain of rice in the day, and ends by reducing himself almost to the condition of a skeleton.

However, finding in asceticism no help towards the solution of the problems of metaphysics and moral philosophy, he changes his system and returns to ordinary life, a course which wins for him the contempt of his five pupils, who stigmatize him as glutton and voluptuary because he accepts a little milk and honey offered by two young village women, the sisters (according to certain versions) Nandā and Nandabalā.

(8) Unmoved by these reproaches, Śākya-muni goes forth to the town to-day called Bodh'-Gayā. There he seats himself at the foot of a tree and declares that, though his body may wither away in this position of meditation, he will not leave it until he has attained the 'Bodhi' or perfect knowledge.¹ And one night the miracle happens; Śākya-muni has attained the Bodhi; an inward illumination lays all things open to his understanding. Successively he gains (1) the knowledge of previous existences; (2) the destruction of evil desires; (3) knowledge of the nexus (*incatenation*) of the twelve interrelated causes; and finally (4) complete knowledge in its three divisions (see later). In a word, from his former state of being Bodhisattva he becomes Buddha.

¹ There is still shown at the present time in Bodh'-Gayā a fig-tree bearing the name of 'The

Tree of Bodhi', under the shadow of which legend declares the founder of Buddhism to have sat.

(9) But at what price of superhuman effort has he won this supreme knowledge! To all the causes of difficulty inherent in his task has been added the malevolence of Māra, the Genius of Evil and his personal enemy. Alike during the ascetic life of Śākya at Urubilvā and during his sojourn under the Bodhi tree, this maleficent being spares no effort, according to the legend, to prevent Śākya from becoming Buddha. At first he tries to turn him from the way of holiness by threats and by loosing against him all the elements of nature and the fury of the armies of evil spirits. Then he seeks to reach him by the attractions of three virgins and numberless beautiful women. But Śākya comes victorious from these trials. It will be recognized that these narratives are a parable, easily comprehensible by the multitude, of the inward strife waged in the soul of Śākya between natural attachment to the outer world and pleasures of life and the total renunciation of the ascetic. In the same way the refusal of Buddha when Māra offers to make him at once into the heavenly Buddha without his passing through the stage of Mānushi-Buddha (see p. 19) implies the desire of Śākya to propagate his teaching, to make known to men the true path of salvation, and thus to deliver them from the fated circle of renewed births.

(10) The possession of the Bodhi once attained, Śākya remains yet seven (or seven times seven) days at the foot of the tree in order fully to enjoy his beatitude. Afterwards he goes forth under other trees and walks by the side of rivers and streams where the nāgas (serpents) shield him from the rays of the sun with their heads miraculously multiplied and enlarged. This legend, which is of purely Hindu origin (Vishnu was shielded by serpents in exactly the same way), clearly reflects the period of early hesitations and experiments which preceded the actual propagation of the teaching. According to the texts of the Southern Buddhists, this propagation opened with the conversion of two merchants, Trapusa and Bhallika, who are considered by the theologians of Buddhism not as the first disciples, but as lay adherents to the faith (*Upāsaka* in Sanskrit). Just at first the preaching of the new gospel does not seem to have had much success. The environment, it would appear, was not very favourable, for Buddha decided to set out for Benares. On the road towards that city he met an aged 'monk', Upaka, to whom, for the first time, he declared his quality of *Arhat* (the Saint or 'Worthy') and of *Jina* (the victorious).

(11) The real propagation of the faith and the foundation of a school and of a community (*saṅgha*), after the fashion of the other 'churches' of contemporary India, only began with the arrival at Benares, where Buddha found once more his five original disciples. At first they receive him with contempt, but are quickly converted by the preaching known as *dharmacakrapravartana*, i. e. the preaching 'of the foundation of the reign of the Law', or literally, 'the turning (or setting in motion) of the wheel of the Law'. For the first time in this discourse Buddha sets forth the foundation of his teaching on 'the four truths' (see later). Conversions become numerous after this success; there is the rich young man Yaśas, with his kinsfolk and dependants; then at Urubilvā we find the thousand Brahmans whose leaders, the brothers Kāśyapa, become the first apostles of the new faith; and many more besides. Lastly, Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, with the majority of his people, adopts the Buddhist doctrine,

and presents to Buddha the 'Park of bamboos' (Veluvana) near Rājagriha, which becomes the head-quarters of the community. There are converted Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the two chief followers of Buddha.

(12) The Buddhist documents are sparing of detail about the forty-five later years of Buddha's life, consecrated to the propagation of his teaching and to the organization of the monastic communities. They give, however, the description of his division of his day; narratives of the attacks directed against him by his cousin, the renegade Devadatta, who was eventually converted, and by the six jealous enemies designated collectively as Tīrthika; the story of his journey to the city of his birth, Kapilavastū, where he converts his father, and where all the inhabitants become monastics; the foundation of a community of nuns in this city by Gautami, aunt of Śākya; the conversion of Rāhula, the son of Buddha; the donation by the courtesan Āmravālī; finally, the wars which brought ruin to the fatherland of Śākya. On the other hand, there are in the Buddhist works abundant details about the death of Śākya-muni. When over eighty years of age, Buddha sets out for the town of Kuśinagara, capital of the Malla tribe. Thence he goes to the village of Pāvā, where he eats a meal offered him by the blacksmith Cunda. Unable to digest the unhealthy food, Buddha falls ill, and, feeling death at hand, he lays him down on his right side, his head turned towards the north, and gives to his faithful disciple and lieutenant, Ānanda, his last instructions for the organization of the community. Warned by Ānanda, the people of the Malla tribe (and even the beasts, avers the legend) assemble around the dying master, who speaks a last word on the vanity of all things that are, and on the necessity of seeking salvation in meditation and the renunciation of worldly pleasures. After seven days of prayer, music, and ceremonies, in which all the living creatures share, the body of Buddha is burnt, and the ashes, distributed among several kings and peoples, are preserved in eight funerary monuments (see *Stūpa* in the Glossary).¹ One of these groups of relics has recently been discovered (in 1908) in its reliquary of silver, which was the work of a Greek artist, and bears inscriptions. The precious casket was buried under a *Stūpa*, raised by King Kanishka, near the city of Peshawar. The date of Buddha's death was probably 477 B. C.

II. THE TEACHING; ITS PROPAGATION AND MODIFICATIONS

(a) *Primitive Teaching.* Śākya-muni left behind him no writings; his instruction was entirely oral. It is, accordingly, impossible to form an idea of his doctrine except from the most ancient sacred books which constitute the primitive 'canons'. The religion founded by Śākya-muni did not form a wholly new element in the Hindu world. Like all the creeds of India, it was based upon two fundamental 'verities': *transmigration*, or 'renewed birth' (*Sansāra* in Sanskrit), and *the remuneration*, or 'the

¹ Certain Buddhist texts divide this last 'act' into two—the death and the distribution of the relics, while they make into a single 'act' those events here given under numbers 9 and 10. Our present division is the more orthodox for Northern Buddhists. It figures, for instance, in the cate-

chism taught to Mongol children. Properly to emphasize all the details of the life of Buddha, a division into sixty-four paragraphs should be made of the story, as was done by Foucher in the memoir cited above (p. xviii, n.).

consequences' or 'the fruits of the deeds' (*Karman*). According to the Brahmanists and the various sects which existed in India at the time of the appearance of Buddhism, all living beings die only to be reborn in the form of other beings, superior or inferior¹ according to the deeds committed in their previous lives. Man, therefore, may be reborn as god or as beast, as he has proved good or evil in his human existence. Primitive Buddhism accepted this conception without criticism as an axiom, and, indeed, no sect—Brahmanist, Buddhist, Sāṅkhya, or Jain—has ever sought to dispute or to deny what may be termed a national article of Hindu faith. But the discrepancy between Śākya-muni and the Brahmanists and other sectaries lies in the pre-eminently *moral* nature of his doctrine, a doctrine rather psychological than theological. While the Brahmanists teach that there exists a God creator of all things (*Īśvara*) and that the circle of transmigrations of the soul through material coverings must be terminated, by the virtue of offerings, sacrifices, and adoration of the gods, in the absorption of individual souls into the universal, primitive Buddhism, on the contrary, is an atheistic religion, or rather philosophy, recognizing neither creator nor organizer of the universe, neither personal soul nor universal, and admitting worship of deities as something secondary. The entire weight of its metaphysical edifice rests on a single basis—the idea of deliverance. But deliverance from what evil? From the interminable and fate-ordained circle of renewed births, which, with all its accompanying evils, seemed a thing of terror. But why and how must a man free himself from this circle of destiny in order that he may attain the condition of Buddha and may exist in another world, opposed to the Sansāra and named *Nirvāṇa*? The reply to this last question is the essential stuff of the whole Buddhist religion. Śākya-muni formulated it excellently in his renowned discourse at Benares (see p. 17) when he announced the four holy 'truths' (*Catvāri āryasatyāni*), namely: (1) the existence of pain (*Duḥa*); (2) the definition of the cause of pain (*Samudaya*); (3) the suppression of this cause (*Nirodha*); (4) the path which leads to this suppression, the so-called noble eightfold path (*ārya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*).

It amounts to this, that all things existent are but passing; all that is born is condemned to death; all that is created is condemned to dissolution. In a word, every pleasure is only the prelude to grief and pain; life brings on old age, the activity of our organs brings on disease, love brings on separation from the beloved, &c. (Truth 1). This pessimistic conception, born in the brain of Śākya-muni more than 2,000 years before Schopenhauer, caused him to reflect on the cause of suffering (Truth 2). This cause is the 'thirst for life', that impulse towards activity which we Western people, on the contrary, exalt. While man is under the domination of this 'joie de vivre', of this 'will to live', he is not liberated from the ties of rebirth (Truth 3). To be

¹ To-day Northern Buddhism confesses the existence of six classes of living beings: two living upon earth, men and beasts; two living beneath the earth, the *Preta* (in Sanskrit) or *Birit* (in Mongol), condemned to an eternal hunger and thirst by reason of their narrow throats, which

shoot forth fire when they desire to drink, and the inhabitants of hell, divided into twenty-two classes according to their torments; lastly, two living in heaven, the *Asura*—who struggle continually against the gods—and, highest of all, the various divinities themselves.

delivered from the sorrows of *Sansāra* man must therefore be delivered from the 'thirst for life' (Truth 4). To explain better these 'verities' as well as the meaning of life, the first Buddhist theologians invented a 'causal nexus', or connexion of causes (*pratītyasamutpāda*), comprising twelve causes (*Nidāna*, literally, 'preliminary condition') which are formulated as follows :

- (1) Ignorance (*avidyā*) produces the syntheses or concealed impressions or tendencies (*sanskāra*).
- (2) The syntheses produce cognition or the substance of thought (*viññāna*).
- (3) Cognition produces name and form (*nāmarūpa*).
- (4) Name and form produce 'the sixfold sphere' or six organs of senses (*ṣaḍāyatana*).
- (5) 'The sixfold sphere' produces contact (*sparsa*).
- (6) Contact produces feeling (*vedanā*).
- (7) Feeling produces craving or 'thirst' (*trishṇā*).
- (8) Craving produces grasping at, or attachment to existence (*upādāna*).
- (9) Grasping produces renewed existence or origination (*bhava*).¹
- (10) Renewed existence produces birth (*jāti*).
- (11) Birth (*jāti*) produces
- (12) Old age and death, grief, lamentation, distress, &c., i. e. the real or actual life (*maraṇa*).²

This series of almost incomprehensible phrases forms the obscurest point in the Buddhist dogma, and one which the savants of the West have attempted to explain in various ways. However, the obscurity can be elucidated, if the formula be taken in reverse order, as Śākya-muni himself was accustomed to take it.³ Read in this way, the twelve 'causes' constitute in sum a development of the third Truth. To be delivered from old age, death, and what follows, man must be delivered from birth ; to be delivered from birth he must be delivered from rebirth (renewed existence), and so on in succession through all the Buddhist metaphysic which explains 'the quality of life', up to the very last phrase, which declares that to be delivered from the syntheses man must be delivered from ignorance. But what is the nature of this ignorance? The commentaries upon the Buddhist works inform us that it consists in lack of knowledge of the Buddhist religion. Here then we grasp the first point—for deliverance, acceptance of Buddhism is a necessity. In like fashion one may go on to explain the other 'causes'. The second 'cause', *Sanskāra*, is a psychological conception ; it signifies a sort of impress left by our actions upon our conscience, and capable, under certain circumstances and after a certain time, of manifesting itself in the form of new actions. This interpretation, as also that of the third 'cause', the primitive Buddhists were obliged to borrow from the school of Sāṅkhya, which teaches that the 'concealed

¹ It is only a question here of existence in one of the worlds of desire (*kāma-bhava*) or of *Sansāra*. Existences in one of the worlds of form (*rūpa-bhava*) or in one of the transcendent worlds (*arūpa-bhava*) is not considered by the causal nexus.

² Cf. Mrs. G. A. F. Rhys Davids, *A Buddhist Manual*, London, p. 348.

³ This appears the more natural course from the psychological standpoint also.

impressions' act upon a mental substance (*Buddhi*), which is the basal matter of a fine covering or ethereal body, forming the centre of the soul-life and called *lingaśarīra*.¹ These concealed impressions may be envisaged as the actions of a man, which, coming slowly to maturity, have the property of manifesting themselves in the course of his reincarnations. Thus with the Buddhists this *Sanskāra* takes the place of 'the soul' of the Brahmanists.² By 'causes' four and five it is signified that the individuality (name and form) manifests itself by the aid of the six organs of sense (the sixfold sphere), and that these put it in connexion with the exterior world (contact). Hence arise feeling, thirst, and the like, which lead to all the evils. But let us return to the third Truth. Summed up briefly, it is but a presentment of *Nirvāṇa*, that is to say, of a kind of existence not subject to rebirths. But what is its nature? The Buddhist works do not anywhere explain this clearly. All that one can extract from them is that it is a condition of perfect blessedness, a state of sanctity or bliss. For our European logic it is existence outside all sensation, all desire, all will, all function—an existence, in fact, without life, which our mentality refuses to grasp. The fourth Truth speaks of the way of salvation, of the path which leads to deliverance and ends in *Nirvāṇa*. This way is made up of eight parts as follows: right belief or views, right resolve or aims, right words, right behaviour, right occupation or mode of livelihood, right effort or exertion, right contemplation or mindfulness, and right concentration or meditation and tranquillity.³ For the conduct of such a life it is clearly necessary to renounce the ordinary life for that of a monk, if not of an ascetic. The laity labours, so to speak, under a disability for 'deliverance'. Accordingly, more than one opponent of Śākya-muni has objected that if every one followed his precepts there would be no more men upon the earth; the result would be that 'gradual suicide' spoken of by the German poet Heine as implied in Christian asceticism. The theologians of Buddhism, however, came to a workable arrangement by formulating, parallel with this 'way of salvation', ten 'commandments', of which the first five are obligatory upon the laity for the attainment of salvation, while the whole must be strictly observed by monastics. These 'commandments' are:

- (1) Not to take life.
- (2) Not to steal.
- (3) To refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse (for the monks, from *all* sexual intercourse).
- (4) Not to tell lies.

¹ This *lingaśarīra* is often spoken of in the writings of modern European theosophists.

² The term *viññāna* used by the Buddhists corresponds sometimes to the *lingaśarīra*, sometimes to the *Buddhi* of the school of Sāṅkhya. Elsewhere it signifies 'reason', intelligence, ideas, and forms one of the six elements of the universe (the other five being earth, water, fire, air, and ether), as well as one of the five aggregates (*Skandha*) which, combined, constitute every living man or animal,

the four others being body, sensations, perceptions, and consciousness.

³ This translation of the original Pāli terms is from Mr. Warren's *Buddhism in Translation*. Cambridge, Mass., 1900, 2nd edition. According to the Sanskrit-Tibetan texts one should read: 'the "perfection": of faith, judgement, speech, action, life, application, reflection or meditation, and ecstasy or contemplation.'

- (5) Not to drink intoxicating liquors.
- (6) Only to take food at certain specified times.
- (7) Not to take part in dancing, music, performances, and similar pleasures.
- (8) Not to adorn the body with flowers, nor to use perfumes and unguents.
- (9) Not to sleep on any high or wide bed.
- (10) Not to possess gold or silver.¹

It must be borne in mind that the Buddhist understands each of these prohibitions in a very wide sense. Thus, for instance, according to the first commandment, it is forbidden to kill and in general to harm not merely men, but any living creature of whatever kind, even parasitic insects, for the injured creature may haply be the re-birth of a kinsman. According to the second 'commandment' man must respect the property of his neighbour to the point of appropriating no single article without the consent of its owner, even though it have no value of any kind.

(b) *Subsequent Development of Primitive Buddhism.* At the moment of his death Śākya-muni, who had organized the little religious community under his own direction, did not appoint a successor. One of his oldest disciples, Kāśyapa, proposed to summon an assembly of five hundred *Arhats* (sages), whose business it should be to work out a 'canon' and to edit a rule for the common life of the monastics. This first council, held at Rājagriha, edited, according to tradition, the first two books of the canon, *Vinaya*, i. e. the statutes and rules of the community (its discipline), and the *Sūtras*, or collection of Śākya-muni's Exposition of the Doctrine. It is probable, however, that nothing at all was written at this council, but that its proceedings, as in the case of other half-civilized races, consisted of chanting and reciting by heart the words of the wisest among the wise men. It is, moreover, certain that the works cited above were written at a later period. Much later still the *Abhidharma*, a metaphysical treatise based on the *Sūtras*, was added, and thus was formed the entirety of the Buddhist sacred code which is in full force to-day and is known as the *Tripitaka* ('the three Baskets', i. e. Collections). This code was drawn up in the Māgadhī dialect of the Prakrit language, the speech of Śākya-muni's country. The absence of discipline and authority, and a too wide tolerance of ideas, which prevailed in the first communities, caused numerous disputes. Moreover, among certain of the Buddhist monastics there arose a slackness of morality which compelled the assembling of a second Council to prevent the ruin of the Doctrine. This Council, held at Vaiśālī a century later than the first, was composed, we are informed, of seven hundred *Arhats*. It attempted, but unsuccessfully, to introduce a certain unity among the different parties and to re-establish the ancient discipline. The cleavages became more marked; the sects multiplied till there were already eighteen in the third century B. C. One of these, the *Vibhjavādīs*, finished by gaining the ascendancy, and caused to be drawn up in Pāli a canon termed 'the orthodox',

¹ In the canon of the Northern Buddhists there exists in addition the prohibition against committing ten sins which are grouped together as follows: three sins of the body, murder, theft,

adultery; four sins of speech, lying, calumny, insult, idle talk; three sins of thought, hatred, covetousness, dogmatic error.

the most ancient now extant in written form, which it assumed in Ceylon in 45 B. C. The canons of the other sects, which were reformers, were drawn up in Sanskrit and Prakrit and are known to us only through Tibetan and Chinese translations. Some fragments in the original language have been discovered, however, in Nepal, and quite recently in Chinese Turkestan. Towards the middle of the third century B. C. the learned among the sect of the *Vibhjavādīs* succeeded in converting Aśoka Piyadasi (Aśoka the pious), king of North-east India, who in 242 B. C. ordered the assembling of the third Council in his capital, Pāṭaliputra. The thousand *Arhats* who came together drew up a final canon and resolved to send missionaries into the various countries to propagate 'the excellent law'. The propaganda met with its greatest success in Ceylon. The convent founded there by Mahendra (in Pali Mahinda) became the centre of Buddhism as codified by the Council of Pāṭaliputra. Thence the creed spread into other regions. The Buddhists of India, however, continued their internal dissensions, and the fourth Council, convoked by Kanishka, the king of the Yue-Chi (*Indoscythians*), towards the year A. D. 100 at Jalandhara in Kashmir, ended in schism between the Buddhists of the south (Ceylon) and those of the north (India). The former refused to recognize its decisions, and held fast to the ancient doctrine which received the name of *Hīmayāna* (the little vehicle), while the representatives of the eighteen other sects accepted the new canon, drafted at the fourth Council, but not formulated definitely until a great deal later, which bears the title of *Mahāyāna* (the great vehicle). This canon was taken as the foundation of his teaching by the real founder of *Mahāyāna*, the monk Nāgārjuna, who lived towards the end of the second century A. D. The canon of the south (*Hīmayāna*) represents better than that of the north a state of Buddhism which, if not quite primitive, is at least the oldest known to us. It gives the rule of life of the monastics and a moral code much akin to that of the Brahmans and Jains. The canon of the north (*Mahāyāna*), on the other hand, which includes the canon of the south almost in its entirety, and is known to us only through translations (the Tibetan *Kanjur* and the Chinese *Tripitaka*, with an additional volume), is contaminated with metaphysical and, especially, with magical dissertations, formulas, incantations, and so forth (Tantra), borrowed from the Sivaïtes of India.

The difference of dogma between the two 'vehicles' is quite considerable. While the *Hīmayāna* preserves almost intact the 'primitive Buddhism' as we have sketched it above, the *Mahāyāna* adds thereto several innovations which completely change the meaning of the old faith. Of these innovations the following are the chief:—(1) The recognition of a supreme God (Adi-Buddha, see p. 2) and the worship of the divinities. These two articles were borrowed from the Brahmans, and were unknown to primitive Buddhism, in which the gods, belonging to the *Sansāra*, or circle of rebirth, and consequently always liable to return to one of the lower states, were far below the Buddhas who were free of the *Sansāra* and living in a very much higher world, that of *Nirvāna*. The Mahāyānists, on the other hand, relegated the Buddhas to the background, or rather made of them a sort of special divinity. (2) The Mahāyānists introduced the conception of the *Bodhisattvas*, predestined Buddhas-designate so to speak,

who are accomplishing the last stages of their avatars before attaining to the dignity of Buddha (see p. 44). (3) Again, the Mahāyāna recognizes the *Mānushi Buddhas*, inhabitants of earth, and incarnations in flesh and bone of the *Dhyāni-Buddhas* or Buddhas of contemplation who dwell in heaven. It is the same also with the *Bodhisattvas*. (4) The adoption of magical formulas and 'tantric' practices of mages and sorcerers, formally forbidden to the monastics by the canon of the South. (5) Finally, the adoption of the theory of 'the void'. In the *Prajñā pāramitā* (ideal knowledge), the gospel of the Mahāyāna, attributed to Nāgārjuna, the theory of 'the void' is developed at great length, as well as that of the adoration of the gods (the *Bhakti* of the Brahmins), and the whole is curiously interspersed with metaphysical discourses and magic. Since then there have been schisms among the Mahāyānists themselves.¹ In the sixth century Asaṅga founded the sect of the Yogācārya, which developed the magical side of Buddhism to its highest power. The adherents of the ancient teaching then took the name of followers of *Madhyamika* (the *via media*).

III. THE EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM

The Southern Buddhism flourished in *Ceylon*, where the famous Buddhaghosha wrote in the fifth century some commentaries on the canon of the little vehicle. Then, spreading to *Burma*, it replaced there, about the sixth century and again in the fifteenth, the meagre remains of the mahāyānist propaganda of the time of Aśoka and Kanishka. The *Mahāyāna*, however, had a great triumph in other countries. In *India* itself the *Mahāyāna* and the *Hīnayāna* existed side by side for some long time, but both eventually were forced to give way, first by Brahmanism and then by the creed of Islam. The fall of Buddhism began with the eighth century. By the thirteenth it was no longer a living force in Central India, but it continued at the foot of the Himalayas and in the east of the peninsula. In the fifteenth century it disappeared from Bengal, and it is to be met with to-day, disfigured under the form of Lamaism, only in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Ladak, and in some communities settled about its historic seats, such as Benares or Bodh'-Gayā. To-day attempts are being made to re-establish Buddhism in India. Unfortunate in its own country, the faith has succeeded better in less civilized districts or in those whose inhabitants were less enervated than the Hindus by religious musings and magical practices. From India primitive Buddhism and, subsequently, the *Mahāyāna* spread first to the neighbouring countries, to *Eastern Bactria* and *Gandhāra*, which to-day are included in the Punjab, Kashmir, and Kafiristan. Thence both forms of the creed penetrated into the lands of Khotan, Turfan, Kuchar, &c., in *Chinese Turkestan*. Flourishing there exceedingly from the second to the seventh century, mahāyānist Buddhism persisted till the ninth, the age of the Mohammedan conquests. Numerous expeditions of recent times (those of Sir Aurel Stein, Grünwedel, von Le Coq, Pelliot, Klementz, Beresowski, Yamagushi, and others) have brought to light artistic and literary traces of the Buddhism of Turkestan. Such was the expansion of

¹ A detailed exposition of the doctrine of *Mahāyāna* has been made by Aśvaghosha, a poet attached to the court of Kanishka and author of

'The Life of Buddha'. It has been translated by S. Beal, Cowell, and Teitaro Suzuki (see Bibliography).

Buddhism in the regions to the north of India. As for its propagation towards the east, mahāyānist Hindu Buddhism penetrated into *Burma, Siam, and Cambodia*, where its presence is attested by numerous ruins (e.g. those of Angkor-Vat in Cambodia); but it proved unable to maintain itself there. Later it was replaced by the hīnayānist form of the faith. Southwards the *Mahāyāna* spread to the *Malay Archipelago*. In the island of Java, where it was probably introduced in the fifth century and had reached its highest power towards the eighth (as is proved by the famous ruins of Boro-Budur, see later under Buddhist Art), it most likely lived on side by side with Brahmanism, but was destroyed by the Mohammedans. It was from Java that the *Mahāyāna* reached the island of Bali, where degenerate remains of it exist even to-day. There remain evidences of the existence of Buddhism in the east and south of Sumatra from the eighth to the twelfth centuries.¹

The introduction of Buddhism into *China* dates from the first century A. D., although Chinese writers make vague mention of certain attempts, probably by scattered individuals, which would date back to the second century B. C. The positive and historical fact is that in A. D. 65 the Emperor Ming-Ti, of the Han dynasty, sent into Khotan a deputation of eighteen persons, who, accompanied by the Indian theologians Mātanga and Gobharana, brought back in the year 67 a collection of Buddhist works. From among these some (notably 'the Sūtra in forty-two paragraphs', a kind of selection of thoughts made from the whole canon) were at once translated in the first Buddhist temple at Lo-yang (now Ho-nan-fu). Up to the fourth century the activity of the Buddhist missionaries in China (mostly foreigners) was limited to the translation of the sacred books; but from the reign of Yao-Shing (379-415) Buddhism was recognized as the state religion and the Chinese began to study it for themselves. Several pilgrims betook themselves to India and Ceylon to gain some idea of the faith in its own country. Among the most famous must be cited the monks Fa-Hien, who travelled from 399 to 413, and Yüan-Chuang or Hiuen-T'sang, whose journey is dated between 629 and 645. Others, as, for instance, the layman Sung-Yün (in 518-521), visited more especially the land of Gandhāra, and others. We owe to them valuable information on India, and the state of Buddhism in general, from the fifth to the seventh centuries. On the other hand, there were during this period several embassies from India and Ceylon to the Emperor of China. The envoys of the Hindu princes congratulated the ruler of China on the success won by the New Law in 'the Middle Kingdom'. One of the great Hindu priests, Bodhidharma, succeeded (in 526) in converting to Buddhism the Emperor Wu-Ti of the Lyang dynasty, which then reigned in Southern China. For a time the Emperor became a monk, and Bodhidharma was made head of all the Buddhist monastics in China, and took up his residence in a famous convent near the present Kiu-Kiang on the Yang-Tze. In spite of these triumphs the Buddhists had to sustain a struggle against their enemies, the faithful of the Taoist creed and the disciples of Confucius. To a certain

¹ Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java*, 's Gravenhage, 1891.—Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago; in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch*

Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, t. 39, 1877.

degree they were able to amalgamate with the former, but the latter aroused against them persecutions which were particularly bitter at the beginning of the eighth century and down to the tenth. Thousands of convents were destroyed by violence, and hundreds of thousands of monks compelled to return to secular life. Since that date, the doctrine of *Mahāyāna*, slightly modified by borrowings from Taoism, has endured till the present time. Its followers, divided into ten sects, live peaceably in their convents, often quite close to Taoist monastics or Buddhist-Lamaïtes (see later). The latter, however, are not very numerous in China.

From China Buddhism passed into *Korea*. It was brought by a Chinese monk named Sun-Do, who carried 372 sacred images and books with him. The new faith grew very rapidly, and attained its apogee from the tenth to the fourteenth century. In 1447 a Buddhist monk invented the present Korean alphabet called Un-mwn, which is derived from the Sanskrit (M. Courant). At the end of the fourteenth century, with the fall of the dynasty which had protected it, Buddhism began to decline in Korea, and to-day only a few degraded remains of it are to be discovered there.

From Korea the spark of the Buddhistic faith passed to *Japan*, where the starting-point of the Buddhist propaganda was the introduction of an image of Buddha into the court of the Emperor by a monk sent by the king of Hyakusai, one of the states into which Korea was at this time (552) divided. At the end of the sixth century (c. 588) the new religion found a firm footing in the country despite the opposition of the Shintoists, who, after a vigorous struggle, ended by fusing themselves with the Buddhists, as the Taoists have done in China. An excellent example of this fusion is to be found in the sect of the *Ryobu*, which was founded in the ninth century and is a veritable mixture of both creeds. At this period the centre of Japanese Buddhism was at the court of the Emperor. Certain princes, Shōtoku Daishi (canonized in 621), for instance, even distinguished themselves as ardent propagandists of the new faith. As in Korea, Buddhism caused the invention of a national system of writing, the *Kana* (*Katakana* and *Hiragana*), and introduced into the country the fine arts, the taste for letters, and the like. Several of the sacred books in Sanskrit were brought thither, and there have since been discovered in Japan portions of the Buddhist canons in that tongue which elsewhere are unknown. It is a curious fact, however, that until quite lately the Buddhistic works in Chinese or Sanskrit have never been translated into Japanese (Chamberlain). At the time of its introduction into Japan, Sino-Korean Buddhism already comprised several divisions, which in the Land of the Rising Sun developed into six sects, the chief being: *Tendai*; *Shingon* (True-Word); *Jōdo* (Pure-Land) and *Zen*. To these must be added six others, of local origin, of which the most important are: the *Ryobu* already mentioned; the *Shin* (true), called also *Monto* or *Ikko*; and the *Nichiren* or *Hokke*. Of these sects the last, founded in 1222, is considered the most fanatical. The *Shin* (a 'protestant' sect, so to speak) allows the marriage of priests; the sect of the *Jōdo* introduces the idea of 'the western paradise'; that of the *Zen* shows artistic and literary tendencies. The establishment of Chinese Confucianism in the seventeenth century, and then, to some extent, the first steps taken to introduce Christianity, dealt Buddhism a blow.

The more cultivated minds became disinclined for it, and the revolution of 1867–8 brought about its almost complete downfall by declaring Shintoism the state religion. A series of measures taken by the government from 1871 to 1874 left Buddhism wholly disestablished and disendowed. Lately there has been a revival of Buddhistic studies in Japan, but it is rather towards scientific and evolutionary ideas or theosophical speculations that the neo-Buddhists turn their attention.

From China Buddhism penetrated into *Annam*, where it was considerably modified by the introduction of indigenous animistic elements and magical practices. This mutilated Buddhism numbers, however, only a few devotees. There is no ecclesiastical organization nor clergy. The ‘bonzes’, living apart or in small bodies in the convents, are also sorcerers, faith-healers, and the like.

In *Tibet* and later in *Mongolia* the doctrine of the Mahāyāna developed into a new religion—Lamaism—of which we shall give a short account. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet dates from the year 632, when the King Srongtsan-sgam-po (Sron-btsan sgam-po), influenced by his two wives, one a Chinese princess, the other from Nepal, but both ardent Buddhists, ordered from India images, sacred books, and (most important of all) theologians. These last invented the Tibetan alphabet (derived from the Sanskrit), undertook the translation of the canonical writings, and applied themselves to a very active propaganda of the new Law. In the eighth century, the King Ti-sron De-tsan summoned to his court Hindu theologians whose names have remained famous, for instance Śānta-Rakṣita (venerated to-day as Acārya-Bodhisattva) and Padmasambhava (in Tibetan Guru Rin-po-c’e, ‘Precious Teacher’), a native of Udyāna, now Dardistan in the north-west of Kashmir. The latter, a keen disciple of the school of Yogācārya, came to Tibet in 747, and succeeded in firmly implanting his doctrine, owing, it is true, to a compromise with the native religion of *Bon-pa*, whose demons he admitted to his pantheon. Two years later he laid the first stone of Tibet’s first Buddhist monastery, that of Sam-yas (Bsam-yas). To him is due the introduction into the mahāyānist doctrine of the division of men into two categories, *Nan-pa* (‘insiders’ or Buddhists) and *Ci-pa* (‘outsiders’ or non-Buddhists), as well as many other modifications which transformed the ‘Mahāyāna’ into the Church or sect known under the name of *Rñin-ma-pa* which adores Samantabhadra as the supreme divinity. Under the King Ral-pa-can (c. 899) was finished the translation of the sacred books, which were brought together into two collections, forming to this day the foundation of the Lamaist religion—the *Kanjur* (*Bksh-hgyur*) and the *Tanjur* (*Bstan-hgyur*) [see later.] But a terrible reaction was produced by the accession to the throne of the brother of Ral-pa-can, by name Langdarma (Glañdharma). This monarch, the Julian the Apostate of Buddhism, won over by those who practised the religion of *Bon-pa*, inaugurated an era of persecution, burned monasteries, and slew or banished thousands of monks. The banished monks retired to the mountains in the east of the country, but avenged themselves at the end of three years by bringing about Langdarma’s death. After this, the Buddhists again dared to raise their heads, and the propaganda was recommenced. A century later the country was covered with convents and full of monks. The arrival of the great Hindu priest Atīśa in 1040

marked an epoch in the history of Tibetan Buddhism—the conclusion of the *Nga-dar*, or period of primitive Buddhism, and the beginning of the *C'yi-dar*, or period of Lamaism. Atiśa founded the sect of *Ka-dam-pa*, less ascetic and more ritualistic than that of *Rñin-ma-pa*, and this sect became later (in 1417) the chief ‘church’ of the Lamaist creed, under the name of *Ge-lug-pa* (*dge-lugs-pa*, the ‘sect of the righteous’, or of ‘the yellow caps’). The founder of the sect, the real reformer of Lamaism, was the famous Tsoñ-k’a-pa (1356–1418), born in the country where stands to-day the convent of Kum-bum (Kham province in the north-east of Tibet). He had made it his chief object to re-establish discipline in the convents, where it was so slack that several monks were either married or openly kept mistresses. Moreover, he also introduced new dogmas of which the most important is the recognition of ‘living Buddhas’ or reborn lamas (*Qubilghan* in Mongolian), i. e. priests and monks in whose very flesh and bones are incarnated the famous saints and even the different deities. This dogma gave an enormous power to the Lamaist clergy and found its expression towards the end of the fifteenth century in the creation of a Grand-Lama, and later in 1640 of a sole temporal and spiritual chief of all Tibet, bearing the title of the Dalai-Lama. Indeed the fifth Grand-Lama (the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara), called Nag-wan Lo-zang (Nag-dbañ blo-bzañ), was honoured by the Mongol prince Gushi Khan with the title of King of Tibet, and was confirmed in this dignity by the Emperor of China in 1650. The institution of the Dalai-Lama has lasted in Tibet up to the present time in spite of the wanderings undergone by the present bearer of the title after the Anglo-Tibetan war. Tsoñ-k’a-pa founded the monastery of Galdan or Gah-dan, which became the centre for the reformed Buddhists (*Ge-lug-pa*) who assumed the yellow cap (*Sha-ser* in Tibetan), while the orthodox (*Rñin-ma-pa*) adhered to the red cap (in Tibetan *Sha-mar*). The former spread all over Tibet, among the Mongols, and in China (where they exist side by side with the mahāyānist Buddhism) ; the latter are numerous in Nepal, in Sikkim, in Bhutan, and on the frontiers of China and Tibet. Alongside of these two principal ‘churches’ exist some twelve Lamaist sects, but their importance is insignificant in comparison with that of ‘the red caps’ and ‘the yellow’. Several among them are attached by origin to the orthodox ‘reds’. Such is the sect of *Sakya-pa*, with its subordinate bodies, whose faithful adore principally the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Others, e. g. the *Orgyen-pa*, are descended from the *Nin-ma-pa* before the reformation. Finally, a certain number sprang from the sect founded in the twelfth century by Mar-pa and spread afterwards by the poet-monk Mi-la ras-pa (the cotton-clad) (1038–1122). The faithful of the *Kargya-pa* revere above all others Adi-Buddha. In essentials there is not any great difference of doctrine between all these sects of Lamaists. To-day they are distinguished only by their recognition or repudiation of certain saints, their veneration of certain divinities, the character of their practices, and the number of miracles wrought by their magicians.

At the time of the conquest of Tibet by the Mongols, a monk of the country, Saskya-Pandita, was summoned to Mongolia by the Khan Godan, or Qutan, the second son of Chinghis-khan. He arrived in 1246 in order to propagate Lamaism, and made the first attempt to invent a script for the Mongolian language, drawing

his inspiration from the *Uigur* alphabet. He failed, however, in his experiment and his nephew, the monk Matidhvaja ('the standard of wisdom'), better known under the name of P'ags-pa ('the famous', 'the saint') [in Mongol. *qutuqtu*], invented 'the square script' (*dürbeljin üsük* in Mongol.) which was derived from the Tibetan alphabet. This, despite its phonetic value, had only a small success. It was replaced by the present Mongol script, which is only a modified form of the *Uigur* script proposed several years before by Saskya-Pandita. It was perfected by the Lama Čojqu ojer (in Mongolian, Čhos-kyi-hod-zer in Tibetan) in the reign of Kuluk-khan (1308-11). P'ags-pa converted to Buddhism the famous Khubilai-khan (Qubilai-qaghan) (1260-91), who became one of its most ardent propagators. But, notwithstanding the protection of the emperors, Buddhism did not make any great progress in either China or Mongolia, and even suffered a temporary eclipse after the fall of the Mongolian dynasty of the Yuen (1368). In Mongolia the people returned to their beloved Shamanist beliefs, and the monks fell very far away from the rules of the discipline. Buddhism was, so to speak, re-introduced in Mongolia two centuries later, in 1577, under the form of the sect of Ge-luk-pa (see above), by the saint (*Qutuqtu*) Sodnam-jamju (Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho), who, having been proclaimed Dalai-Lama by Altan-khan, chief of the Tumet Mongols and king of Tibet, came to Mongolia, where he laid down the rules for monastics, did away with the sacrifice of animals at funerals, and performed such services for Buddhism that by the Mongols he is considered their first national saint. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Mongol princes had as much influence with the Dalai-Lamas as had the emperors of China, and from 1602 we find one of the descendants of Altan holding the throne of the Grand-Lama under the name of Dalai-Erden. He it was who in 1604 settled the *qutuqtu* Maydari in the convent of Urga on the banks of the river Tola. The successors of this personage, who are held to be *qubilghan* (reincarnations) of one of the pupils of Śākya-muni, are among the most powerful members of the Lamaist clergy. It was the last of these incarnations, the Bogdo-Gegen ('shining excellence') or Je-btsun dam-pa ('holy chief'), who lately (in 1912) proclaimed himself at Urga king of an independent Mongolia.

Towards 1625 Lamaism was introduced among the *Kalmuks* by Boibeghusbaghatur, chief of the Khoshot (*qošot*) tribe. Later it spread among the other princes, nobles, and landholders. Finally, towards the end of the eighteenth century all the Kalmuk race, or Ölöt, from Lake Kuku-Nor to the banks of the Volga and the Don, had become Buddhist. As to the third branch of the Mongols, the *Buriats*, they were not affected by Buddhism before the middle of the eighteenth century, and a part of them remains Shamanist even at the present time.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY (*Sangha*)

(a) *Clergy*. The first Buddhist community was founded by Śākya-muni himself, and the rules of its organization served as a base for the compilation of the *Vinaya*, that part of the canon (*Tripitaka*) which is devoted to 'the discipline'. These rules, however, which resembled those of many other religious communities of ancient India, did not acknowledge the existence of a chief, and up to the present the southern Buddhists,

like those of Ceylon, have never had one, or, at most, have had leaders appointed by the temporal power, as in Siam. As we shall shortly see, the case is different in the north. The primitive Buddhist community admitted to itself every man without distinction of caste, and was thereby differentiated from the other contemporary communities of India. It is even maintained by some authors that to this principle of equality and democracy Buddhism owes its success. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that Śākya-muni himself established, as a set-off to the privileges enjoyed at his time by every religious community in India (exemption from taxes, right of asylum, &c.), certain prohibitions : thus slaves, criminals, soldiers, persons afflicted with infirmities or contagious diseases, were all inadmissible. In the same way persons of less than twenty years and above eight were admitted only as pupils or novices (*Śrāmaṇera* in S.,¹ *Bandi* in M.), and that with the consent of their parents. As to women, though all, even those living in concubinage, could become Buddhists, their constitution in communities was permitted by Śākya-muni only very reluctantly, at the instance of his aunt who reared him. He maintained, even, that the time of his apostolate on earth as *Mānushi-buddha*, and therefore the total benefit which he could confer upon humanity, had been reduced one-half by this concession.

In the primitive community the admission to two grades (*Pravrajyā* 'departure', and the great admission *Upasampadā*) were accompanied by several ceremonies, the cutting of hair, the clothing in monastic habit, and the taking of an oath to observe the four fundamental commandments—not to kill, not to thief, to abstain from sexual connexion, and not to boast the possession of supernatural qualities. Monks were bound to live by alms, to sleep under trees, to be clad in rags, &c. Usually their life was passed in walking from one town to another, with no more baggage than an earthen bowl (*Pātra* S., *Batir* M.) holding food, a razor, and a sieve to strain from their drinking-water the living creatures which might be therein and run the risk of being swallowed. A pilgrim's staff was allowed.² They slept in the open air, and only in the rainy season assembled in houses (*Vihāra*) built for them by the faithful. These *Vihāra* later became monasteries. The day of the primitive monk began with household toil and was afterwards divided between meditation, collection of alms, and worship paid to the relics of Buddha or to the Bodhi tree. It ended with reading or copying the sacred books. Strictly speaking there were no prayers, for to whom could they be addressed? The primitive faith did not allow a personal deity, and Buddha is in Nirvāṇa, outside the universe in whose midst living beings are compelled to exist until their deliverance (*Samsāra*). Meetings for any common rite were rare : there were a public confession every eight days and a great mutual confession at the end of the

¹ The words Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian are here represented by the letters S., T., and M.

² Some of these rules are in practice to-day. Thus the monks of Ceylon go bareheaded and barefooted, and the monk of Tibet always has his *pātra*. Others have disappeared (e.g. the fourth commandment), or at least have changed.

For instance, in Ceylon the umbrella has replaced the staff, and among the Mongolian Buddhists the future monk, during the ceremony of admission, is given, instead of a sieve, a sort of fan made of dry herbs, with which he must drive away the insects which might fall into his drinking-water.

rainy season. Such a cult might satisfy a few ecstatic monks, but made no appeal to the common people; and it is no matter for surprise if the new religion immediately after Śākya-muni's death made concessions to the latter. They began with the public adoration of the relics of Gautama himself and then of other Buddhas. Afterwards came pilgrimages to spots which recalled his life and his works, and where commemorative monuments (*Stūpa* S., *Thūpa* in Pāli, *mC'od-rten* T., *Suburga* M.) had been erected.¹

The simple organization of the primitive *Sanḅha* has undergone, like any other institution, its processes of evolution. Among the southern Buddhists it has resulted in the foundation of convents, each containing but a few monks (*bhikshu*), while among those of the north it has been transformed into a regular church, which, in some countries, as for instance in Tibet, has ended by absorbing the entire life of the people.

With the northern Buddhists the clergy is composed of monks of various grades, some of whom follow a special course of teaching, and, after examination, receive an ordination which endows them with power to perform the sacred rites. The number of these monks is considerable. More than half the population in Mongolia, more than a third in Tibet, consists of 'Lamas'.² But it must not be supposed that all Lamas are true monks living in convents. Those who have attained to the first two grades of the hierarchy live, for the most part, outside such institutions, and attend to their businesses like ordinary Mongols and Tibetans. Moreover, to mention only the most important class, there are laymen of all ages who, desirous of proving their devotion, undergo a sort of affiliation to the monastic life, and acquire the title of *Uvasi* (M.) or *Upāsaka* (S.). In their case ordination takes place in the tent of the postulant or his parents at the hands of a priest (*Gelūng*, see later), who demands of the candidate obedience to the first five commandments (see p. xxiv). The *Uvasi* afterwards follows the life of the other nomads, and is not, strictly speaking, a monk.

The real hierarchy begins with the grade of *Genyen* (*dge bśāen* T., *Śrāmaṇera* S., *Bandi* M.). The usual age for candidates for this grade is from infancy up to seven or eight years, and the rank is attained after two or three years of study under the direction of a teacher appointed by the superior of the convent. Ordination is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremonial. The head of the new *Genyen* is shaven; flowers are thrown over him, after he has been made to submit to a kind of confession in order that his freedom from infectious disease may be assured, as also his sex, and the fact of his not having taken life, and so on. The *Bandi* is compelled to observe the ten commandments (see pp. xxiv-xxv). He is given the monastic habit of red and yellow, the *pātra*, and a bundle of dry herbs for driving away insects (see p. xxxiii, n.). The next rank, that of novice or *Getsūl* (*dge-ts'ul* T., *Gefūl* M., *Śramaṇa* S.), can be tried for only after fifteen years of age. The ordination resembles that of the *Bandi*, but

¹ Till quite lately 'the real tooth' of Buddha was shown at Kandi in Ceylon, and 'the real Bodhi tree' existed as late as 1876 near the ancient town of Urubilvā in India.

² This is the European term for Buddhist

monks, but the word in Tibetan signifies 'superior' or 'revered master', and is applied only to high dignitaries, who gain a right to it only after the completion of higher studies.

with more ceremonial and a harder examination. To become a perfect monk or *Gelüŋ* (M.) ('a virtuous mendicant'—*dge-slon* T.) the candidate must be between twenty and twenty-five years old, must pass an examination which lasts for three days, and must maintain in debate various theses in theology. Those who are successful in this examination remain at the convent, those who fail are obliged to leave it and to become sorcerer-Lamas (in Tibet), or (in Mongolia) to adopt nomadic life, always preserving their religious character and title of *getsül*.

The *Gelüŋ* are qualified to officiate in all the ceremonies of the religion, and can even become the superiors of smaller convents.

At this rank the monastic hierarchy (strictly speaking) reaches its term. All other distinctions depend upon the functions fulfilled by the various *Gelüŋ* or upon academic degrees. As a matter of fact, the more ambitious and intelligent among the *Gelüŋ* continue their studies in the universities of the great convents where is taught the *tsanit* (*bjanit* M.) or *Mts'an-ñid* (T.), i. e. the distinctive signs of 'the things of the quintessence', or (to put it more accurately) the commentaries to the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur* (see p. xxx), accompanied by special studies in astrology, medicine, and the occult sciences. After studies, more or less long, and severe examinations, the students obtain successively the degrees of Bachelor (*Dkah-bcu* T., *Arkan bergedež* M.), of Licentiate (*Rabs-hbyams-pa* T., *Masi-Kedüreksen* M.), of Master (*Sñas-rams-pa* T.), and of Doctor (*Hla-rams-pa* T.).

As to the offices of the monks in the convents, they are more than twenty in number. The highest is that of *Qambo-Lama* (M.), *Upādhyāya* (S.), *Mkhan-po* (T.), or Superior of one of the greater convents. The *Qambo* are nominated by the incarnated Lamas (see below) and confirmed in their office by the civil power (up to lately by the Emperor of China). A *Qambo* has supreme direction of the entire life of the convent, while the management of convent affairs lies in the hands of a functionary of the rank immediately below, who is called *Čorgi-Lama* (M.) or *Tsos-rje* (T.). Then follow in order the *siretu* (M.), who presides at all ceremonies of the religion; the *Dge-bškos* (T.) or *Gebgüi* (M.), a kind of overseer or beadle with extensive authority, always armed with his staff, which he plies on the columns of the temple to stop the noise of talking, and also, after a summary cross-examination, on the backs of such monks as may disturb the order of the services. Finally comes the *Umčat* (M.) or *Dbu-mtsat* (T.), who organizes all the religious services and has the special function of leading the intoning of the hymns and chants.

Besides the assistants of the three officers just named, we have to reckon a crowd of underlings: the *Takilči* (M.) or *Mtsod-pa* (T.), who arranges the offerings; the *Ja-ma* (T.), who prepares them and looks after everything concerning the feeding of the monks; the musicians, the monks who, by ringing a gong or blowing into a shell, give the signal to the rest to assemble in the temple or elsewhere.

There are also monks especially employed in instruction, who, like the higher officers, are chosen from among those possessed of academic degrees. Such are the *C'os-skyoñ* (T.) or professors of the occult sciences, who interpret difficult passages of the sacred books and are also busied in averting or attracting rain, in indicating

the places where are reborn the souls of the departed, and so forth. These must be distinguished from the magicians (*Čoijin-Sanghasak* M.) who do not live in monasteries, and who, although they receive investiture from the Dalai-Lama himself, do not follow the monastic rules. Usually they are married and devote themselves to rites akin to Shamanism. Some are renowned as oracles. Along with the *C'os-skyon* must be classed the doctor-Lamas (*Emči* M., *Sman-pa* T.) and the astrologers (*Jiruwaici* M., *Gañaka* S., *Rtsis-ñan* T.).

In spite of the number of grades and functions, all monks, at least in Mongolia (Pozdnieev), believe in their mutual equality, and act upon this principle. In this respect the traditions of the ancient brotherhood of the Saṅgha have been preserved up to our day.

Beside the 'regular' clergy (so to speak) exists a special class of ecclesiastical dignitaries—the 'incarnations' (*Qubilghan* M., *Sprul-ba* T.) or living Buddhas who are at the summit of the lamaist hierarchy and who, in right of their very origin, differ from the rest. A Qubilghan is, in fact, the representative, in flesh and blood, of some Buddha, Bodhisattva, god or saint, whose spirit is incarnated in him at the moment of his birth, and will pass, at his death, into the body of the child destined to become his successor in the functions fulfilled by him. The incarnation is thus less a matter of person than of function. The system is a useful one; for by exploiting the belief in transmigration or rebirth and the veneration for famous ancestors it creates positions which are to some extent hereditary and precludes the competition and party-strife which an election might occasion. Besides the Dalai-Lama (supreme head of the Lamaist church of the 'yellow caps', and at the same time incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) who lives at Lhassa, and the Pan-c'en Rimpoce (supreme head of the 'church' of the 'red caps', and also incarnation of Buddha Amitābha) who lives at Tashi-Lumpo, there are in Tibet, as in Mongolia and China, a certain number of 'saints' (*Qutuqtu* M.) and 'Qubilghan', incarnations of numerous saints and deities. Every greater convent has its own Qubilghan whose authority is purely local. As to the Qutuqtu there are only very few of them. Such, for example, is the Qutuqtu of the convent of Urga in Mongolia, called Bogdo-Gegen (see p. xxxii), incarnation of one of the pupils of Śākya-muni. There are also the Grand-Lama of Pekin, head of the Lamaist clergy in China, and the Depa-rajā, spiritual and temporal sovereign of Bhutan.

When one of the incarnate Lamas dies, his 'spiritual being' or, as we should say, his soul, goes first to a celestial abode, then, at the end of a period varying from forty-six days to four years, is reborn in the body of a child, who from his birth gives signs of his supernatural character. When public report or the inquiries of the Lamas have pointed out the locality where the child in question is to be found, the chapter of the monastery, or (if it is a matter of the Dalai-Lama) the sacred college of the *Qambo* (counsellors), holds an inquiry into the authenticity of the facts alleged, and goes to the spot to subject the child to a series of tests, the chief of which consists in making him recognize among several similar objects (cups, books, rosaries, &c.) those which the dead Qubilghan or Dalai-Lama habitually used. After

due trial, the child is proclaimed a rebirth and is brought to the convent or the palace of Po-ta-la, if it is a question of succession to the Dalai-Lama. There up to the age of eighteen he receives the necessary education. Afterwards he may exercise his authority.

The day of a Tibetan monk is passed very much in the following manner. Rising about five, he makes his ablutions, recites the prayers in honour of his tutelar divinity or patron (*Yi-dam*), then, summoned by the trumpet or the shell, joins the procession of other monks who are going to the temple. There, after prayer, is made the first distribution of tea to the monks. This rite over, he retires to his cell and does not return to worship till nine o'clock; then at midday come service and tea. After this he is free and takes a rest, only returning to the temple towards three to take part in theological controversies and receive tea again. About seven he goes back to his cell, after having revised the tasks to be done by his pupils, if there is occasion. Apart from the hours devoted to worship, the Lamas are occupied with various matters according to their particular capacities. Some give instruction; others copy the sacred books; others, again, design and carve images of the deities or perform some manual labour. Some travel about among the encampments to aid the laity with their counsel; others, to complete their education, travel from one convent to another.

The costume of the Mongolian monks consists of a skirt of blue linen or red cloth (*Pancali* S., *Sham-tabs* T., *Banjai* M.), a sort of shirt of white linen (*jamja* M.), and a long full robe of cloth or of silk (*Debel* M.) ornamented with fur for the winter, and of a colour varying in accordance with the wearer's grade: brown for the Bandi, red for the Getsül, and yellow for the Gelüng. In Tibet trousers also are worn, and a long red shawl (*Bla-gos* T.) thrown over the left shoulder and leaving free the right arm as among the primitive Buddhists. In Mongolia the same shawl (*Kimji* M.) is donned only for the religious service. The headgear varies with the circumstances and rank of the monks and Lamas. The conical hat, red or yellow according to sect, with large turned-up brim, is common to all. Another, shaped like a biretta and trimmed with a yellow or red fringe, is worn only by monks resident at the convent. For the services is worn a sort of helmet with a crest (*Saser* M., *Rtse-swa* T.), while the Lamas of high rank wear different kinds of tiaras (*Obbotai* M.). For some of the divine services is assumed the *titim* (M.) (or *chodpan*, see Glossary) or another head-dress, shaped like an inverted barber's dish and topped by a *vajra*. The conical cap, with long appendages in the form of ribbons falling on the shoulders and the temples, is only adopted by the 'reincarnations'.

An indispensable accessory of the costume of the Gelüng is the water-bottle wallet (*Cab-lug* T., *jabori* or *javrun* M.), a little flagon sewn up in a bag and containing holy water with which the monk washes his mouth after meals. There are also rosaries (*Akshamāla* S., *P'ren-ba* T., *Erike* M.) of 108 beads of the same size, made of bone, wood, coral, metal, seeds, and the like. These are divided into nine series by larger beads. In addition, the Lamas carry with them a drinking-cup, reliquaries, a little book wrapped in cloth with which they give the blessing, and sometimes a bag containing small necessities, tobacco, pipe, tinder-box, writing-materials, and the like.

Besides the monks there are Lamaist-Buddhist nuns (*Bhikshunī* S.). Formerly

numerous, they are met with to-day only in the south and east of Tibet. They wear the same costume as the monks and shave the head completely. Their principal order has its seat at the monastery of Samding (*Bsam-lding* T.), on Lake Palte or Yamdok, the abbess of which is an incarnation of Vajravārāhī (*Rdo-rje p'ag-mo*) (see p. 132). In Dzungaria and western Mongolia are found also some female 'Qubilghan'.

(b) *Religious Ceremonies.* Presence at the daily offices in the temple of the convent is obligatory only on the Bandi, the Getsül, and some Gelüng specially charged with the performance of the services. The remaining Gelüng and the Lamas of the higher grades assist only at the high services (*jke qural* M.). These take place usually on the 15th of each lunar month, with an extra service (*Qanghal* M.) towards the end of the month; but there are others which last several days, usually from the 1st to the 15th of the month or from the 8th to the 15th.

Besides the daily services there are solemn religious ceremonies at certain appointed seasons: first on the 15th of each lunar month, then on the days of certain feasts. Among these feasts the most important are the new year or 'white moon' (*Zal-ba Dan-po* T., *Čaghan-sara* M.), which lasts from the 1st to the 16th of the first 'moon' of the year (according to the Chinese cycle, i. e. between the middle of January and the beginning of February). It corresponds to the sixteen days during which Śākya-muni sustained his struggle with the adversaries of his doctrine (see p. xx), and coincides with the civil feasts of a sort of carnival which lasts, at Lhasa for instance, for more than six weeks. Another feast, commemorating the first preaching of the four truths by Śākya-muni (see pp. xxii-xxiii), is kept by a high service from the 8th to the 15th of the third 'moon' of the summer (towards the end of July), and is followed by a special ceremony on the 16th of the same month, the day of Śākya-muni's conception. Afterwards begins the 'Lent', imposing hard and painful service and repentance, and called *Jara* (M.) or *Dpyar-gnas* (T.), i. e. 'the solitary summer fasting' of the monks. This lasts for forty-five days, during which the monks may not leave the convent and must remain all day seated in the temple. The 25th day of the first month of the winter, 'the feast of Lanterns', gives opportunity for one of the most impressive ceremonies, accompanied by a sudden illumination of all the buildings of the convent with thousands of lanterns, and by other features. This has been rendered popular in Europe by the picturesque narrative of the Abbé Huc. Lastly, in the third 'moon' of the winter (end of January or beginning of February) occur the three high services. On the 15th is the secret congress (*Nighuŋa qurianghui* M.); from the 27th to the 28th the feast called *Sor*, when offerings of butter are burnt, and on the 29th the service of sacrifices (*balin* M.). Besides these festal days there are high services from the 8th to the 15th of the first month of summer in commemoration of the entry of Buddha into Nirvāṇa, and on the 15th day of the third month of autumn in honour of Man-la (see p. 24), and a few others.

We must add that the laity assist at the daily services in Tibet only on rare occasions, and never in Mongolia. It is only on feast days that they throng as if on pilgrimage to the vicinity of the convents. In Tibet they enter the temples, but in Mongolia they are content to make genuflexions and salutations, prostrating them-

selves upon the earth outside the temple. Moreover in Tibet, as also in Mongolia, they make 'the circumambulation' of the temple, either walking or prostrating themselves continually so as to measure with the length of their bodies the circuit of the shrine. The more fervent act in the same manner all the way from their encampment to the convent; it is even said that the most ecstatic use the same fashion of progression during the whole journey from the frontier of Tibet up to Lhasa.

The usual daily service (*Jis* T.) includes the same cycle of prayers and repetitions which are intoned by the *Umčat* (see p. xxxv), and taken up in chorus by the rest of the monks. According to the 'Sumbrum' or 'breviaries' in vogue in Mongolia, the offices are composed of three parts: (1) the 'rapsal' (*rab-gsal* T.), the most luminous collection of hymns in honour of Buddha, which include the 'credo', the 'praises', the 'prayers', and the 'wishes and benedictions'; (2) the litanies addressed to the *dokshit* or defenders of the Faith (see p. 147), which vary according to the divinity to whom they are addressed; (3) *indūsūn* (M.) or *Tantra* (S.), esoteric invocations to the Yi-dam (see p. 141) grouped under four heads. In the larger convents these magic *Tantra* are read in special chapels called *Jud* (T.).

The three kinds of 'sung prelections' of the liturgy are the same for the low and the high services, which only differ in the number of chapters read. Thus at the low service are read only four or five 'rapsal' and a single 'dokshit' in honour of the deity who protects the convent, while at the high service the entire series of 'rapsals' is exhausted, and six or eight litanies are sung to the 'dokshits'. To these daily services, at which the monks are present in their ordinary dress, seated, and without making any gestures or imitative actions, others are from time to time added. First there is a 'dokshit' service, specially composed for invoking the protective deities and the 'defenders of the faith'. This service is invested with more splendour than usual. The presiding Gelūng assumes a special dress; the *banjal* (see p. xxxvii) is worn above the robe and not below; his shoulders are draped with a sort of tippet (*do-dik* T.); lastly, the head is crowned by the *chodpan* (see the Glossary). The principal celebrant stands upright and makes a certain number of gestures. The office is accompanied by music and includes offerings and sacrifices to the divinities. The objects indispensable for this service are (1) the gong and *vajra* (see Glossary), which the celebrant generally holds; (2) the *kapāla* (see Glossary) on a tripod, filled, according to the deity to whom sacrifice is made, with tea, wine, or blood; (3) the *bum-pa*, vessel of holy water with a peacock's feather for sprinkling it; (4) a little plate with grains of corn or rice to be thrown in the air as a sacrifice to the spirits.

Moreover special offerings are prepared (*balin* M.), a kind of pyramid made of paste mixed with sugar and currants and covered with ornaments made of coloured butter which represent the sun and moon, the jewel (*cintāmani* S.), flowers, and so forth. The preparation of these *balin* demands the greatest care. Since the breath of the maker must not touch them, he puts over his mouth a hair-net (*galgabči* M.). The priest's gestures have relation to the seven special offerings, the flower, lamp, scented wands, and the rest (see p. xlviii). The assistants mark these gestures by

clapping their hands in a special 'tempo' or cadence. The prayers recited are taken from the *Sādhana* (see Glossary).

Another service, known by the Mongolian name of *Tüiürgükji*, has for object the preparation of the lustral water (*rasāyana* S.). It includes prayer, the absolution of sins, a recital of all the ablutions made by Śākya-muni, and finally the thanksgiving. Between the first and second part of the rite is performed the preparation of the holy water. One of the priest's assistants raises a mirror so that it reflects one of the statues of the divinities; another takes the vessel (*Kuḥe* M.) filled with water and pours it upon the mirror. The water which flows off, and is believed to have caught the image of the divinity, is collected in a special dish (*K'ris-gc'os* T.) held by a third acolyte, while a fourth wipes the mirror with a silken napkin (*qadaq* M.). Fifteen libations are made in this way, and at the end of the ceremony the lustral water is poured off into a *bum-pa* and set on the sacrificial altar. Thereafter it is used for the aspersion of offerings, and for washing the mouths of the Lamas, while among the laity it serves the same purposes as does holy water among Catholics.

The service called *so-jin* (*gso-sbyon* T.) is worthy of special treatment. It is held on the 15th and 30th of each month, and is really the ancient *upoṣadha* or collective confession of the monks; being of a very intimate character, it involves the wearing of special habits. The monks are called to it not by the sound of bells or trumpets, but by that of a great block of wood (*gaṇḍi* S.) struck by a small staff. In reality it is no longer the primitive confession, but a sort of renewal of vows; for to all the questions (253 at least) put by the presiding official, the monks make invariably the same replies. For the sake of record we may mention the special annual ceremonies. These are the tour made by Maitreya, when the statue of this divinity is drawn about on an enormous wooden horse; and the *tsam*, a kind of mystery with masked figures representing the Citipati, the god Vajrapāṇi, the Jamsaran or earth-spirit under the form of an old man, several monsters with heads of oxen, stags, and the like.

V. SHORT SURVEY OF BUDDHIST ART

After this description of the organization and life of the Buddhist clergy as well as of the ritual, there remains the task of saying a few words on the buildings and cult-objects amid which a great number of Lamas pass their existence; that is to say, the convents and temples and also the images they contain must be described. Since, however, these images are the subject of the volume to which this is but the Introduction, we shall limit ourselves to giving some general idea of the architecture of the convents and temples and of the sculptures and pictures representing the deities.

Notwithstanding numerous works, among which must be mentioned as of first rank those of Foucher, Grünwedel, von Le Coq, and S. Oldenburg, the study of Buddhist art still presents considerable lacunae and numerous uncertainties.

This art must have first appeared soon after the institution of the first *saṅgha*, probably towards the middle of the fifth century B. C., but the most ancient monuments known to us do not date back beyond the third. From that period down to

the present day can be distinguished four stages of development : (1) the art of the ancient Indian school, (2) the so-called art of Gandhāra, (3) the mediaeval art varying according to locality, (4) and lastly, the art of modern times.

(1) *The ancient art* is almost purely Hindu in character. At most, we can recognize in it a few Greek and Iranian influences. It is known to us by a small number of architectural monuments ; sculpture is represented by architectural ornament only, and painting up to the present has not been discovered. Apart from the hypogea which have served as temples, and the huge monolithic pillars set up by King Aśoka (c. 250), of which one was found at Benares in 1905, crowned by a superb capital supporting the wheel of the Law, the monuments are principally *Vihāras* and *Stūpas*. The former are houses once inhabited by monks, or chapels of a kind, once occupied by images of the divinities. A collection of these constitutes a monastery (*Saṅghārāma*). Very few have been preserved to our day (examples are found in the monasteries of Swat or at Takht-i-Boghas). These consist of a kind of tower with cupola or pitched roof and trapezoidal door. As to the *Stūpas*, they were originally commemorative tumuli faced with stones and surrounded by a balustrade. Each of these monuments is composed of three essential elements whose legendary origin is as follows. When Śākya-muni was desirous of showing his disciples the right way to construct the *Stūpas* and decorate them symbolically, he took off his three monastic garments, folded each into a square, and laid them one upon another ; then he set on top his beggar's bowl (*pātra*), and arranged above all his staff of pilgrimage. Thenceforth the *Stūpa* was composed of a square base of several steps ; of a mass recalling a cupola or dome ; and of a pinnacle or finial formed of an upright, garnished with several disks (five to twelve) one above another, which represent as many parasols, ensigns of authority. In the subsequent development of these buildings the highest and lowest portions (the base and the pinnacle) tended to increase more and more at the expense of the middle (the cupola). The primitive tumulus must have been surrounded by a wooden palisade. The stone *Stūpas*, the only ones that remain to us, were surrounded by a round or quadrangular balustrade also of stone, but imitating a wooden structure. This balustrade was furnished with several doors and covered with bas-reliefs. Surviving from the ancient period of Buddhist art are several *Stūpas* known to us : that of Barhut, whose bas-reliefs are preserved in the Calcutta Museum ; that of Sanchi, whose four doors have been restored ; and lastly that of Bodh'-Gayā, which is in a fair state of preservation. All date from the second century B. C. and are situated in Central India.

The sculptural ornaments of these *Stūpas* have this much in common, that they combine in a single whole various consecutive scenes of the life of Buddha or of his previous rebirths (*jātaka*), scenes which in the later periods are reproduced separately. The style is conventional with a leaning to realism. But what chiefly characterizes this art is the absence of representation of the Master, or Buddha, in human form. His throne, surrounded by worshippers, is often seen, but it is empty ; empty also is the place beneath the tree where Buddha was seated when he attained Bodhi. At most, some symbols (a wheel, for instance) replace his figure. According to Foucher

this abstention from representations of the form of Buddha is due to the fact that at the outset of Buddhism the ex-votos and smaller objects which must have been brought back from pilgrimages represented only the symbols of the places of pilgrimage (e. g. a wheel where Buddha held his first discourse, and so forth). Respect for tradition and the principle of survival have probably caused this method of representing Buddha to be adopted in the first manifestations of Buddhist art.

(2) *Graeco-Buddhist* art is so called because it adopted classical forms to express Buddhist motives; but it is also called the art of *Gandhāra* after the north-west district of India (now Peshawar) where it originated towards the end of the first century A. D. It lasted up to the end of the fifth century, remaining purely Hellenistic except for some debts to Iranian forms and style. It treated, however, only Buddhist subjects, which sometimes demanded modifications even of form if they were to be in accord with the rules of the religion. Unlike what is to be seen in ancient Indian art, the art of Gandhāra introduces the representation of Buddha in human shape, his prototype being Apollo and the sole addition being a nimbus. As for the state of Bodhisattva, it is represented by the figure of an Indian prince in all the splendour of his ornaments. It is also in the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra, that the figures of Buddha and the saints appear seated on a reversed lotus-bloom, the base of whose bell-shaped calyx serves for a throne. The favourite subjects, unlike those of the older Indian art, are rarely scenes from the *jātakas*, but principally from the life of Buddha, and are of an edifying character. They are disposed in separate panels which run in order from right to left, a system which (in *Stūpas*, for example) is connected with the custom of circumambulation in the direction of the sun's course; that is to say, the building around which the circuit is made is kept on the right hand. The bas-reliefs of this period are remarkable in point of execution for their very high relief approaching treatment in the round: also for their correctness of proportion, for the absence of stiffness in their draperies, and for delicacy of features.

But if the ornamentation of the buildings shows a considerable advance on the older art, their architecture did not greatly vary. At the same time, thanks to modification in the organization of the Saṅghas, which had grown larger, the cells (*Vihāra*) where the monks lived had come to be built one on to another and to form a sort of quadrangular cloister, surrounding a court in the middle of which were placed the *Stūpas*. These accumulated *Vihāras* formed a monastery (*Saṅghārāma*). Moreover, such *Vihāras* as contained images of the gods had been joined likewise. These had lost their partition-walls, which were now replaced by columns; and thus they became temples.

Finally these buildings were combined: a quadrangle of cells was constructed round the temple, and the *Stūpa* was moved outside. Such a combination is still exemplified in our own day in the construction of the Lamaist convents (see p. xlv).i).

The best specimens of the art of Gandhāra are in the museums of Calcutta, Lahore, and Peshawar, and also in the British Museum, and the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin. We know nothing of the painting of this period, but to judge from later works of a derivative art which have been observed in the caves of

Ajanta and in Chinese Turkestan (see later), it must have attained a high degree of perfection in fresco.

(3) The art of Gandhāra forms the base of several *mediaeval schools of art*. In Central India it persists almost pure in the school of *Mathurā* with its beautiful bas-reliefs of Bacchic subjects; while the school of *Magadha* which developed the Indian elements (i. e. the Brahman Pantheon) invented new forms. To it are due those well-known figures with long thin legs, salient hips, flexible as reeds—those figures overloaded with jewels, gesticulating extravagantly upon bosky backgrounds of stylized plants, that one sees on so many Buddhist buildings in India, Java, and Cambodia.

In Bengal an art analogous to that of Magadha lasted till the eleventh century in miniature-paintings on palm-leaves, whose technique passed presently to Nepal and Tibet.

In the south-east of India the remains of the magnificent *Stūpa* of Amāravatī, not far from the mouth of the river Kistna, which are preserved to-day in the Museum at Madras and in the British Museum, exemplify a very happy combination of Hellenistic with Indian art, indicating the existence of a local school during the first three centuries of our era.

On the other hand, in the famous grottoes of Ajanta, east of Bombay (West India), are found sculptures and, in particular, frescoes in bright colours of an individual style. They date from the first to the seventh centuries, and represent scenes in the life of Buddha (the temptation contrived by Māra, &c.) as well as the Jātaka. This style is characterized by realism in the treatment of human figures and, still more, of animals. The ornamentation is rich, abundant, and varied.

(4) With the disappearance of Buddhism, the art inspired by this religion died out in India towards the twelfth century. Let us consider its development in other regions, in some of which it has continued to the present day.

In *Ceylon* Graeco-Buddhist art had penetrated along with the religion in the second and third centuries, but only a few monuments survive. Then came the Indian mediaeval art, which struck root and is still found in our day, but in full decadence. In *Java*, on the other hand, this mediaeval art was grafted upon a native stock, and the temple of Boro-budur, built in the ninth century and still in admirable preservation (out of 2,000 bas-reliefs only about 600 are missing), is one of its most striking manifestations.

In *Indo-China* the same art has undergone Brahman influences, as the ruins of Angkor in Cambodia prove. In Siam and Burma the modern art which has been evolved from it is distinguished, on the architectural side, chiefly by bell-shaped *Stūpas*, by the pointed towers of the temples, and by the affected and distorted forms of the figures of divinities and genii. The surfaces are overloaded with gold and with encrustations of tinsel which tire the eye.

But the most unexpected influence of Graeco-Buddhist art, and one which was only discovered a very few years ago, is that which it exercised on Central Asia, and, probably through that region, on China and Japan.

Excavations, carried out in recent years by learned expeditions from England,

France, Germany, Russia, and Japan, have thrown a vivid light upon Buddhism and its art in *Eastern* or *Chinese Turkestan* and the territories immediately adjacent to the Chinese province of Kan-su. In the south of this country the oasis of Khotan was an important centre of the Buddhist faith. The art of Gandhāra and subsequently that of mediaeval India were transported there, to be modified only by the exigencies of the plastic medium, namely, clay, which the artists were obliged to employ; for quarry-stone does not exist in Eastern Turkestan. The wooden statues, which are excellently preserved, thanks to the dry climate of the country, are profusely painted and gilded. Imposed on an art which is fundamentally Indian or Hellenistic are to be noted some Persian influences and, to a slight degree, the influence of Chinese art. The miniatures found at Khotan show a quite original style.

From Khotan Buddhist art penetrated farther to the north-west towards the oasis of Kashgar and beyond to Tamchuk (to the north-east of Maralbashi), where have been discovered sculptures of the pure Indian type. More to the north, near the town of Kucha, numerous frescoes have been found in underground buildings, the subjects and the execution of which are Indian with traces of Iranian and Chinese influences. To the east of Kucha, in the marshy regions of Lake Lob-Nor, other frescoes have been noted by the learned traveller Sir Aurel Stein—very remarkable and closely akin in style to the works of Hellenistic art. In the north of Chinese Turkestan, near Karashar, monuments have been met with in which the most diverse styles are associated, while at Turfan the frescoes show us a new art, that of the Uigurs, a Turkish people. This is an art formed of a native element with a mixture of Chinese elements and later of Tibetan, not to mention an influence of Iranian art exercised through the Manichæan monks, in whose ranks Uigurs were found in considerable numbers.

Finally, outside Turkestan, but quite near to its frontier at Tun-huang (Kan-su province), the grotto 'of the thousand Buddhas', visited by Sir Aurel Stein and by Pelliot, has supplied us with several specimens of Buddhist art dating from the sixth to the tenth centuries, which present a very remarkable mixture of Indian, Chinese, Persian, and Tibetan styles.

The existence of this art of Gandhāra in a state of greater or less degeneration in Eastern Turkestan explains the presence of certain features in the Buddhist sculptures and paintings of *China* and *Japan* (in this matter we know almost nothing about *Korea*). In purely national motives appear certain details which are of Hellenistic style, e.g. the nimbus, the arrangement of the folds of the robes of Śākya-muni and the other Buddhas, and the costume of certain Bodhisattvas. Finally, it explains the very composition of certain pictures or bas-reliefs, as for example those treating of the scene of Śākya-muni's death or of his passage into Nirvāṇa.

But apart from these remnants of Hellenistic influence, the style of the mediaeval sculptures and paintings of *China* and *Japan* is dependent upon tendencies identical with those which manifest themselves generally in the national art of these two countries. For *Korea* we lack documents, as we have already said, but we may suppose that Buddhist art there differs but little from that of *China*.

In *Nepal* the old Indian art is now represented by the five *Stūpas* raised, according to tradition, by King Aśoka ; while the mediaeval art of India is reflected there in the *Stūpa* of Svayambhū-Nātha, near Katmandu. This monument, which has been repaired several times, is covered now with paintings and gilded plaques in the Lamaite fashion (see later). But it is in the making of large wooden statues and the casting of bronze statuettes of Lamaite divinities that the Nepalese, clever carvers and founders, excel. Miniature painting, introduced into the country about the eleventh century, has prospered continuously. A number of Persian and Tibetan motives make their appearance in what is, fundamentally, an Indian art (Sylvain Levi).

The art of *Tibet*, which dominates all aesthetic expressions of the Lamaites in general, whether Tibetan, Mongolian, or Chinese, has a distinctively individual character. In architecture especially, the Tibetans have developed a special type, remotely reminiscent of the Egyptian style, but of still unknown origin. Its characteristic feature is the predominance of straight lines and geometrical forms, and ornament is confined to uniform coloration of large spaces. The result is that the Tibetan buildings look like fortresses. The most remarkable monuments of the purely geometrical type are the 'gilded temple' of Gyantse and the gate near the temple of Marbo-ri at Lhasa. As an example of the uniform colouring may be cited the palace of the Dalai-Lama (*Po-ta-la*). In sculpture, the Tibetans borrowed the style of the statues at first (from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries) from Nepal ; but their national genius has so far transformed them that to-day it is Tibetan art which dominates Nepalese artists in their production of statues and statuettes. It is a curious fact that bas-reliefs, so widely known in all other Buddhist countries, are almost completely lacking in Tibet except on very ancient monuments, probably the work of Indian artists (S. Oldenburg). They are replaced everywhere by single statues and statuettes. Temple figures are often grotesquely muffled in costumes of rich stuffs like certain Madonnas or saints in Spain, Italy, and, above all, Latin America. As regards painting, Tibet lived at the outset upon its borrowings from Nepal or Northern India ; but very few monuments of this period remain to us. The most important have been discovered recently (1911) in the ancient convents of Quaraqoto (M.) in the country of the Tangutes (province of Kuku-nor) by the Russian traveller Kozlof. These remnants of the ancient Tibetan-Indian art, which evidently had been imported into the country where they have been found, are mingled with products of the art which may be called *Tangut*. This displays Uigur, Chinese, and even Persian influences imposed on a fundamentally Indo-Tibetan art (S. Oldenburg). In its later development Tibetan painting transformed its Indian models at will, without experiencing any foreign influence, except perhaps, to a very slight degree, that of China, so far at least as concerns fineness of brush-work and perfect sureness of line. True, that this last characteristic is partly owed to the established and theoretically immutable rules, in accordance with which Lamaite pictures must be executed. Nevertheless, a certain freedom of fancy is permitted, and one sees sometimes non-canonical attitudes and accessories which produce the best possible artistic effect. Certain painters add bits of landscape to the likenesses of gods and of saints with very happy

result. Others try to give portraits in place of conventional figures. One of the characteristic features of Tibetan paintings is the extreme brightness of their coloration, which is, perhaps, the best means which could be used to make them visible in the half-darkness of Lamaite temples.

The only manner of painting among Tibetan and Mongolian artists is that of the miniaturist, and it is applied even to surfaces which attain the dimensions of several yards, as, for example, banners in certain processions or pictures exposed during the great feasts at Lhasa and other centres of pilgrimage. This manner is governed by the desire to omit no detail, and it is really astonishing to see in the imagery on one of the *Ts'ogs-šin* (see later), ten inches in height and eight in width, for instance, more than one hundred figures, each scarcely one inch high, but represented with all details which make them readily recognizable, though these are often indicated by no more than a single but characteristic stroke.

VI. CONVENTS, TEMPLES, AND SACRED IMAGES

(a) *The Convents.* The modern Buddhist Lamaite convents (*Dgon-pa T.*, *Küren M.*) are ordinarily situated in remote places, often difficult of access, and if possible on a mountain and not far from a lake. They are planned on the lines of the ancient *Saṅghārāma*.¹ A quadrilateral space of ground is usually surrounded by a wall surmounted by numerous *dorjaq* (M.), streamers of ribbon on the end of a stick which are imprinted with the sacred formulas. These ribbons are held to have the power of keeping evil spirits away from the convent. We have here a relic of ancient animism. The principal entrance is on the south, and it is surmounted by a kind of pavilion, in which are seen the statues of the four guardians of the temple (*Lokapāla*, see p. 166). Before this gateway at a distance of sixty yards are two columns, upon which on feast days are placed a vessel of incense and a lighted lantern. At the same distance and all round the enclosing wall of the convent are placed large cylinders (*Kürde M.*) covered with inscriptions and containing rolls of paper printed with prayers or *manī*. The pilgrims who have whirled these cylinders are considered to have pronounced the sacred formula *Om, manī padme, hūm* as many times as the cylinder has revolved. There are also little *Kürde*, which are carried by hand and turned for the same purpose. Nearer to the entrance are erected the *Stūpas* (see Glossary).

Inside, the convent is divided into three courts by walls either at a right angle or parallel to the south side. In the first case the principal temple is situated in the central court, with the cells of the monks on the right and left; in the second it is in the third court, the two previous ones being occupied by the monks' cells. In both cases, however, the main way, which leads from the principal door to the temple, traverses the entire length of the convent from south to north, for the temple is always placed under the north wall. In the middle of this way is placed an altar with incense-vessels, and at each side of it (or on the right and left of the principal temple) are smaller temples or chapels. The cells, which are replaced in Mongolia by felt tents,

¹ This Sanskrit term is applied to-day only to the convent libraries.

are of various sizes and are placed in accordance with the rank of the monk who is lodged there. Their importance diminishes from left to right, or from north to south. The dwellings of the superiors of the convent and of the 'Qubilghans' are close to the principal temple.

(b) *The Temples.* There are hardly any temples outside convents with the exception of some buildings at Lhasa and other great towns. The principal temple of a convent, whether of Tibetan, Chinese, or mixed architecture, invariably has its entrance towards the south. This entrance is often preceded by a vestibule, usually containing the images of the 'four guardians' and a prayer-wheel. The wall looking towards the north (the abiding-place of Buddha) is the only one which must have no windows, and against this wall are placed on its inner side the statues of the divinities, before which stands the principal altar of sacrifice. The roof is sometimes gilded, but must be always surmounted by one or two *Ghanjir* (M.), a kind of gilded vessel filled with rolls of paper containing the prayers (*manṇi*). Moreover, in Mongolia, on the four corners of the roof there are gilded cylinders containing, besides the *mani*, a copy of the book of Atiśa (the 'sacred' organizer of Lamaite Buddhism) called *Lamsgron* (T.) or *Bodhipatha pradīpa* (S.), i. e. the way of attaining the *Bodhi*. In Tibet the cylinder is covered with black yak-hair striped cross-wise with white. It bears the name of *Ṣaḥjan* (M.) or *Rgyal-mts'an* (T.) or *Dhvaja* (S.). Above the principal entrance, near the roof, is a gilded wheel with two gazelles regardant on either hand, to commemorate the preaching of the wheel of the law or of the four truths in the park of the gazelles.

Inside, the end of the temple towards the north wall is occupied by the altar of the divinities, frequently separated by a rank of columns from the main body of the building. This latter is divided by other ranks of columns into four or five parts. Thus are formed a central nave and on each side one or two lateral naves, where the seats of the monks are placed. These seats differ in shape according to the rank of the monk: arm-chairs with backs for the superior and the head of the choir, stools for the Gelūng, plain benches for the ordinary monks. The number of flat cushions (*golboq* M.) made of felt and covered with yellow stuff, which are placed upon these seats, varies from one to nine in accordance with the rank of the Lama. Rank also accounts for the position in which the seats are placed. As in the cells, the left hand is more honourable than the right, and the importance of a seat diminishes from the altar on the north to the entrance of the temple on the south. The *Gebgwi* (see p. xxxv) are seated on each side of the door. The Superior of the Convent and the principal celebrant have in front of their seats small low tables upon which they place their *Vajra*, gong, bowl of holy water, rosary, and other things. The *Qubilghan* have seats apart, placed in the nave in front of the altar opposite the door, so that these 'living gods' partly mask the images of the divinities placed against the north wall.

The columns of the temple are painted red and draped with stuffs, or covered with frescoes like the walls; moreover, along the colonnades and also from the crown of the ceiling hang long ribbons of every colour of the rainbow. This mass of bright-coloured stuffs, which stirs at the least breath, combines with the absolutely unique

odour and the half-darkness which broods in the building (the doors and windows are always covered with thick curtains), to impart a curious sensation, and to give a wholly singular aspect to a Lamaite temple.

(c) *The Altar and Objects of Ritual.* In front of the statues of the divinities grouped along the north wall rises the Altar, a kind of table covered with rich stuff, and of length varying with the size of the temple. Upon it are placed the following objects :

(1) The eight 'glorious emblems' (*Aṣṭa maṅgala* S., *Uljeitu naiman temdek* M., *Bkra-śis-rtags-brgyad* T.), i. e. the white parasol (*Chattra* S., *Gdugs-dan* T., *Sikur* M.) which keeps away the 'heat of evil desires'; the 'two gilded fishes' (*Matsya* S., *Gser-ña* T., *Ṭighasun* M.), 'symbol of happiness and utility'; the sea-shell (*Śaṅkha* S., *Dun-dkar* T., *Labai* M.), symbol of the 'blessedness of turning to the right'; the lotus-flower (*Padma* S. and T., *Badma* M.), 'pledge of salvation or Nirvāṇa'; the sacred bowl (*Kalaśa* S., *Bum-pa* T., *Bumba* M.), 'the treasury of all the desires'; the mystic diagram (*Śrīvatsa* S., *Dpal-be'u* T., *Balbu* M.), 'the thread which guides to happiness'; the standard (*Dhvaja* S., *Rgyal-mts'an* T., *Doja* M.), 'erected on the summit of the palace of salvation'; and, finally, the wheel (*Cakra* S., *Kor-lo* T., *Kirde* M.), 'which leads to perfection'. All these objects, whose dimensions vary according as they are made in wood or in gilded metal, are supported on stands more or less decorated.

(2) Beside or behind this group is set a similarly arranged tableau of the 'seven jewels': the wheel, the '*Cintāmaṇi*', the woman, the official, the elephant, the horse, the military leader (see *Ratna* in the Glossary).

(3) In front of these two groups are arranged seven cups of brass or silver containing the seven offerings; the first two are filled with water; the third holds a flower, and the fourth the scented wands (*Kūṣi* M.); the fifth (filled with oil and furnished with a wick) represents a lamp, the sixth is full of water, and the seventh of viands. This is a symbolic survival of the objects offered in ancient India to every recipient of hospitality: water to wash the feet, water to wash the face, flowers and perfumes for the charm of their appearance and odour, and finally everything necessary to provide light, drink, and food.

(4) Among these seven cups is placed another vessel with incense (*Bdug-spas* T., *Jeke Kūṣi* M.), and a large lamp *Mar-me* T., *Jeke ṣula* M.), which must stay alight and shine with even brilliance by night and day without flickering. In summer this is replaced by a lantern, lest the insects attracted by the light should scorch themselves and die of their burns.

(5) During certain of the services, for instance that of the Man-la (see p. 24), there are put also upon the altar the 'eight glorious offerings', or 'eight blessed substances' (or 'things') (*Bkra-śis-rdsas-brgyad* T., *Uljeitu naiman ed* M.), namely: the mirror (*Ādarsa* S., *Me-lon* T., *Toli* M.); the bezoar (*Ge-ham* or *Chi-dam* T.), i. e. concretions which form themselves in the stomachs of certain animals, and, as is said, also at the back of the elephant's neck; the curdled milk (*Sho* T., *Taraq* M.); the herb '*durvā*' (*Dur-bas* T., *Öbösim* M.); the fruit '*bilva*' (*Bil-ba* T., *Modonoi-temesim* M.); the shell (*Dun* T., *Labai* M.); finally, the red lead, a piece of lead ore (minium) or mercury

(cinnabar) *Li-gti* T., *Singghu* M.). All these offerings recall the objects which were presented by a particular spirit or person to Śākya-muni himself.

(6) Sometimes are set also upon the altar the sacrifices of the five senses : a mirror (sight), a shell (hearing), a cup filled with nutmegs (smell), a bowl filled with fruit or sugar (taste), and a morsel of yellow silk stuff (touch).

(7) Finally, a *pātra* and a gong (*K'ar-gsil* T., *Duldui* M.) with some decorative vases and flowers complete the furniture of the altar. The ritual objects employed during the service are also placed upon the altar for the time being. These are, in addition to the *vajra* and little bell which the celebrants generally hold in their hands, the following objects : the *Mandal* M. (*Maṇḍala* S., *Dkyil-k'or* T.), i. e. a dish of bronze, silver, or gold upon which are set representations of Mount 'Meru' in the same metal, and of the four great and eight little divisions of the world (*Dvīpa* S., *Tib* M.). In the spaces between these representations, which suggest the toys of children, the offerings are set : little piles of rice, coins, shells, and the like. The *mandal* is placed at the right corner of the altar ; beside it is the 'Kapāla' or *Toḍ-ma* T. (see Glossary), filled with blood or wine during the service of 'dokshit'. Balancing these two objects there stand on the left side of the altar, upon a pedestal, a mirror and the Bum-pa filled with lustral water for the same 'dokshit' (cf. above, p. xxxix).

For the sake of ornament there are also placed upon the altar, as has been already said, vases and pots of flowers, and the whole is surmounted by a kind of baldachino (*Bla-bri* T., *Labari* M.). Behind the altar, and consequently immediately in front of the images of the divinities, hang from the ceiling quantities of ribbons of five colours (*Ba-dang* T. and M.), cylinders (*Ĵalĉan* M.), and globes (*Āma-purma* M.) made of pieces of stuff in five colours sewn together and filled with scented hay, like our balls ; further parasols, lanterns, scarves of silk (*Qadaq* M., *K'a-bdags* T.), and the like. All this forms a veritable forest in front of the images, and obstructs almost completely the view of the divinities. We will, however, pull aside the tremulous curtain and penetrate to the images of the gods themselves.

(d) *The Images of the Divinities.* The Buddhist Pantheon includes, as we know, at least 500 deities. Each has a counterfeit presentation, sculptural or pictorial. The statues, whose dimensions vary from the length of half an inch to several feet in height, are made of wood, papier-maché, ivory, stone, copper, iron, silver, gold, and especially bronze. They are covered with painting, with lacquer, and with gilding. It is compulsory that there should be made in the lower part of each statue a kind of cavity, in which are placed with certain ceremonies rolls of paper with inscribed or printed prayers (*mani*). These cavities are closed with a plate of bronze, sometimes bearing the image of the double *vajra*. Before being filled with this 'spiritual body' the statue is treated like any other object, but afterwards it can be treated only as a sacred object, though it merely represents 'the image of the divinity' ; it is not an 'idol', but a mere 'sacred image' such as are possessed by certain Christian churches. The best statues are made in Nepal, Lhasa, and at the convent of Dolon-Nor in Eastern Mongolia. Usually they represent but a single divinity, sometimes, however, accompanied by his attendants ; but often groups of three, five, or eight statues are

made, all having the same character and the same dimensions so that they compose groups (for instance, the Buddha triad or Ts'ön-k'a-pa with their two favourite pupils; the eight *Bodhisattvas*, the eight '*Drag-ched*' or 'the terrible ones', and others).

Pictorial art on the contrary represents a great number of divinities or persons symmetrically grouped. Most often the picture will portray on a large scale a divinity or personage as principal figure, and around him, on a smaller scale, scenes from his life, or divinities and accessory persons. Besides these there exist paintings representing *maṇḍala* or 'the domain of the saint' (Pl. XVI), as well as views of certain celebrated monasteries, and the like. The pictures are painted on a sized canvas prepared with chalk. This is stretched on a frame with zig-zag lacing as we should stretch a piece of tapestry. The colours are diluted with oil or water.

Among the pictures should be noted particularly the *wheel of life* or of the *sansāra* (*Sansarjin kurde* M.), which sums up pictorially certain principal parts of the Buddhist doctrine. A huge dragon holds a disk formed of three concentric circles. The central and smallest of these encloses the likeness of three animals—the snake, the pig, and the chicken, symbolizing the sins of anger, ignorance, and voluptuousness. The surrounding and much larger circle is divided into six segments representing the life of the six categories of living beings (cf. p. xxii, n.). Therein are to be seen men busy at their affairs, animals real or imaginary, the *preta* tormented by thirst, the twenty-two compartments of Hell grouped around its divinity (*Erlük-qaghan* M.), who presides over the last judgement and computes good and bad actions with the help of white or black counters which his attendants throw down before him. Finally, the last two segments represent the war of *Asura* (see Glossary) against the gods, and the dwelling of the latter, a kind of Paradise. The third circle contains twelve images which represent, more or less vaguely, the nexus of the twelve causes (cf. p. xxiii).

Another class of paintings is formed by what is called *Tsok-shin* or *Ts'ogs-šin* (T.). These have not yet been studied in any of the works written on Buddhist iconography.¹ I shall proceed to give a brief sketch of them based on my own researches.

We know that all the Buddhist-Lamaite divinities are divided into six large groups: (1) the Buddhas, (2) the Bodhisattvas, (3) the Feminine deities, (4) the 'protectors' or tutelary gods (*Yi-dam*), (5) the Defenders of the Faith (*C'os-skyon* T.) and the 'eight terrible ones' (*Drag-ched* or *Drag-gsed* T.); finally (6) 'the minor divinities', genii, guardians of the four cardinal points, &c.

In the native albums of images of gods, e. g. that of the 300 divinities reproduced by Pander or by S. Oldenburg (see Bibliography), these divinities, to which are joined the saints and the *Arhats*, are classed as follows: the Saints (to the number of 51), the Protectors (42), the Buddhas (48), the Bodhisattvas (12), the Goddesses (9), the Defenders (27), the *Arhats* (18), the *Drag-ched* or *Drag-gsed* (12), the *Dākinī* and the *Devī* (*Gon-po*) (15), lastly the Yama, Lamo, Guardians of the cardinal points, genii, &c. (45). But what is the relative importance of each of these classes, and how are the divinities

¹ With the exception of ten lines concerning them in Grünwedel's *Obzor sobranya*, &c. (Review of the collection of the objects of lamaite cult,

belonging to Prince Ukhtomsky, *Bibliotheca buddhica*, VI, St. Petersburg, 1905, text, p. 54.)

arranged in the Temple? No work on Buddhism answers this question in a precise and detailed manner. The pictures of the *Ts'ogs-šin* alone give some guidance in the subject to the student who has learned how to decipher and interpret them. Of the five pictures which I have been able to study, the largest comes from Nepal and dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century (collection of Mr. H. Getty); two others, of moderate size, come from Eastern Tibet (collection of M. Bacot in Paris) and seem to date from the middle of the last century; finally, the two smallest come from Peking and are still more recent (Getty and Deniker collections). In spite of their different sources, ages, and sizes, all these pictures are painted on the same scheme, which I attempt to state in the lines which follow. (For the orientation see the frontispiece with the tracing of it and p. 179.)

At the top are three medallions surrounded with a border often of the colours of the rainbow, inside which are crowded numerous Buddhas (Frontispiece : A, B, C). Below is seen the image of the principal divinity (Śākya-muni in the *Ts'ogs-šin* of Nepal, Ts'ön-k'a-pa in the four others), surrounded by smaller images of his different attendants grouped to right and left (D). Lower still, and occupying the largest part of the picture, is what we may call the principal pyramid of the divinities (E). This is a tree which supports the images of a great number of the divinities, arranged in a certain order which I shall give later. On both sides of this tree-pyramid are seen, in the upper field, two spaces (F, G) filled by groups of monks or genii on clouds, while below can be distinguished the row of guardians of the four cardinal points, and on each side of the trunk of the tree two sirens or *Nāgas*. Besides these are displayed on the right of the trunk the images of the seven jewels and eight emblems (see p. xlviii), while upon the left there is invariably a personage who presents upon a plate the offering to all these deities, an offering which consists of a kind of pyramidal cake.

In the explanation of the frontispiece (p. 179) will be found the names of most of the divinities which I have been able to identify in the *Ts'ogs-šin* of Nepal. Here I shall give only their arrangement in groups. It is in a way concentric, and the rank of every one of the divinities is determined by the distance at which it is put from the centre; the principal divinities are the nearest to the central point of the pyramid, which is occupied by Avalokiteśvara (No. 49 of the frontispiece). Above the chief divinity are three ranks of Bodhisattvas (Nos. 18-22, 27-31, 37-41) as his attendants; on his right are three Buddhas (Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, &c.) (46-48), and on his left three others (but of this I am not sure) (50-52). This central group, then, includes the principal divinities. It is surrounded on right and left by the goddesses (Nos. 17, 26, 36, 45, 23, 32).

Above the principal group is the double rank of the 'Protectors' (Nos. 2-6, 10-14), flanked on right and left by feminine divinities of the second order (*Kurukullā*, &c., 1, 7-9).

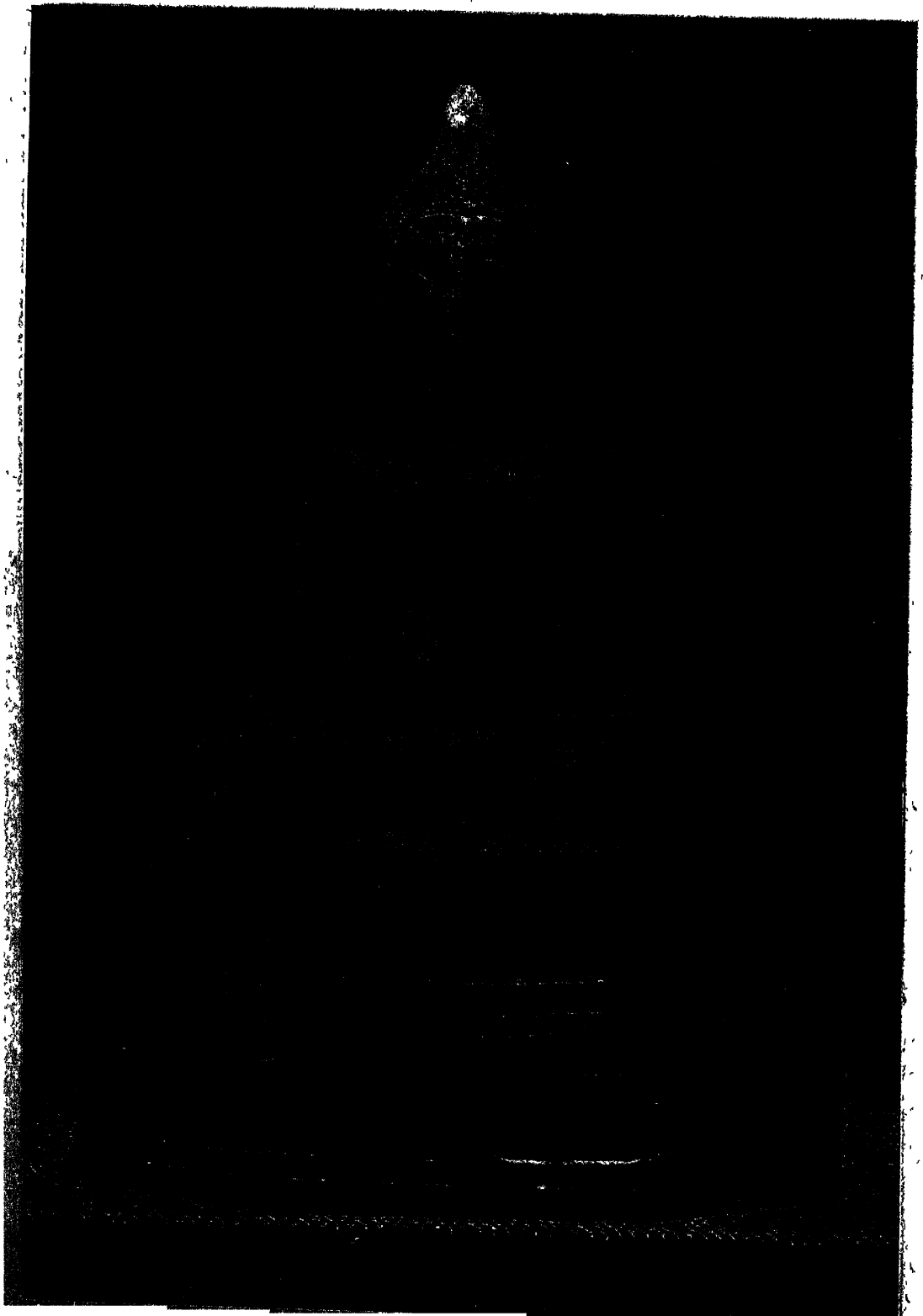
Below Avalokiteśvara stands the rank of Tathāgata or Buddhas which overflows on to the sides of the pyramid above and below (15-16, 24, 25, 33-35, 42-44, 53-68, 77-82, 91-93). In the rank below reappear different Bodhisattvas (69-76) and below

them the *Man-la* (No. 101) with his twelve acolytes (88–90, 94–95, 107–108). In the same rank as he, on right and on left and encroaching also at each end on the rank immediately below, whose centre is occupied by the *Dākinī* (113–119), are placed the eighteen *Arhats* (96–100, 102–106, 109–112, 120–123). Finally, the very lowest rank is occupied by the 'Defenders' and the *Drag-ched* (124–138).

As for the *Ts'ogs-šin* which come from Pekin and Eastern Tibet, in No. 1 the large figure of Śākya-muni is replaced by that of Ts'ōn-k'a-pa carrying upon his breast in a nimbus a little figure of Śākya-muni which itself encloses a tiny image of a Buddha of a bluish-grey colour. From this small image radiate rainbow-coloured ribbons or golden threads towards the groups of monks at the sides (E, F) and towards the 'pyramid of divinities'. The number of Bodhisattvas and of Dhyani-Buddhas is considerably reduced in the imagery of Eastern Tibet and of Pekin. On the other hand, new personages appear in the most recent of the *Ts'ogs-šin* (e. g. that from Pekin in H. Getty's collection). Padmasambhava is seen there to occupy a place of honour, namely, that of the Buddhas, and to be surrounded by a multitude of feminine divinities. Among these figure Kwan-yin, unknown in the other *Ts'ogs-šin*. Several other Chinese saints are also to be seen in them.

However, if I attempted to treat this subject I should invade the domain of the author of the book to which I do but supply an introduction. Indeed, everything that has been written above is to be regarded only as a means to facilitate the use and study of A. Getty's work by the reader. Thanks to the orientation which this introduction gives the latter, he will be able readily to understand the details involved in the history and representation of each of the divinities of the Buddhist Pantheon. It is not my business to estimate the value of A. Getty's work, but perhaps I may plead that in this book for the first time the problems of Buddhist iconography in general and in detail are to be found collected and systematically treated. Moreover the treatment is based on the author's own researches in Europe and in the Far East, and on information drawn from specialist works which the public finds difficult of access. These words should be enough to show the very great interest and utility of the book for general Buddhist studies.

J. DENIKER.



■

PLATE I

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

●

ĀDI-BUDDHA

TABLE I

Adi-Buddha	{	I. Vajradhara.
		II. Vajrasattva (J.) Kongōsatta.

ĀDI-BUDDHA

(T.) *mc'og-gi dan-pohi sañs-rgyas* (lit. most excellent first Buddha); or *duś-kyi hk'or-lohi mts'an* (lit. the saint of (the religion of the) wheel of Time).

(M.) *anghan burhan* (the beginning deity).

IN the Guṇa Kāraṇḍa Vyūha it is written: 'When nothing else was, Śambhū was: that is the Self-Existent (*svayambhū*): and as he was before all, he is also called Ādi-Buddha.'¹

The first system of Ādi-Buddha was set up in Nepal² by a theistic school called Aśvarika, but was never generally adopted in Nepal or Tibet, and had practically no followers in China and Japan.³

The Nepalese school supposed an Ādi-Buddha infinite, omniscient, self-existing, without beginning and without end, the source and originator of all things, who by virtue of five sorts of wisdom (*jñāna*) and by the exercise of five meditations (*dhyāna*) evolved five Dhyāni-Buddhas or Celestial Jinas called Anupapāḍaka, or 'without parents'.

When all was perfect void (*mahā-sūnyatā*)⁴ the mystic syllable *aum*⁵ became manifest, from which at his own will the Ādi-Buddha was produced. At the creation of the world he revealed himself in the form of a flame which issued from a lotus-flower, and in Nepal the Ādi-Buddha is always represented by this symbol.⁶

All things, according to Hodgson, were thought to be types of the Ādi-Buddha, and yet he had no type. In other words, he was believed to be in the form of all things and yet to be formless, to be the 'one eternally existing essence from which all things are mere emanations'.

According to the system, Ādi-Buddha was supposed to dwell in the Agniśṭha Bhuvana (the highest of the thirteen⁷ Bhuvana, or celestial mansions), quiescent and removed from all direct communication with the world which he had caused to be created by the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, through the medium of the Dhyāni-Buddha. It was believed that neither the Ādi-Buddha nor the Dhyāni-Buddha ever descended to

¹ Ādi (first), Buddha (wise one).

² According to Grünwedel, in the eleventh century A.D. Other authorities give earlier dates, but also posterior to the system of five Dhyāni-Buddhas.

³ Although the system of Ādi-Buddha was not adopted in Japan, the Amitābha sects look upon Amida as the One Original Buddha (Ichi-butsu), while the Hossō, Tendai, Keron, and Shin-gon

sects call Vairocana (Dai-nichi Nyorai) 'the Supreme Buddha'.

⁴ v. Glossary.

⁵ The mystic syllable *aum* signifies the Tri-ratna (Three Jewels): Buddha (*a*), Dharma (*u*), Saṅgha (*m*), or Buddha, the Law, the Community. In the mantra, it is written *ōm*. v. *Tri-ratna* and *ōm*.

⁶ The flame symbol is also represented in the centre of a moon crescent. v. Pl. xix, fig. d.

⁷ In Nepal, 18; in India, 10 Bhuvana.

PLATE II



a. VAJRADHARA



b. VAJRASATTVA



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA (SVASTICĀSANA ?)

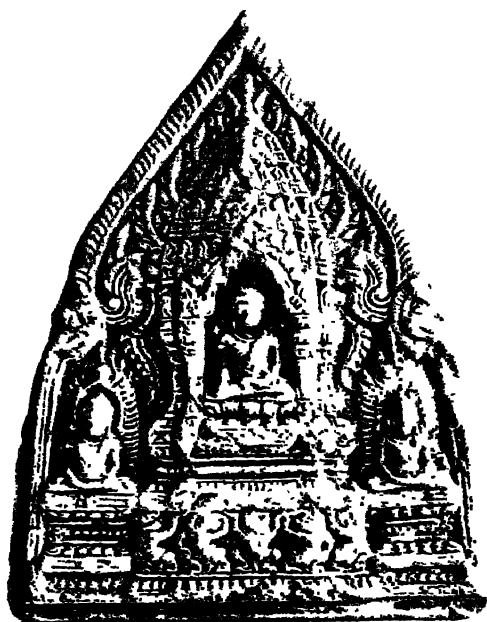


d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA (VAJRĀSANA)

PLATE III



a. AMITĀYUS



b. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



c. VAJRADHARA



d. MAÑJUŚRĪ

earth, but left the creation and direction of the world's affairs to the active author of creation, the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, and that as they were absorbed in perpetual contemplation, prayers were not to be addressed to them.

Other sects in Nepal, besides the Aśvarika, set up an Ādi-Buddha, the most important being the Svābhāvika, which afterwards became the most popular Buddhist sect in China. Svayambhū, or Ādi-Buddha, was called Ísvara by the Aśvarika, and Svabhāva by the Svābhāvika; but he was also given such special names as Vairocana, Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, and Vajrasattva. In the *Nāmasaṅgīti* (compiled before the tenth century A.D.) Mañjuśrī, god of Transcendent Wisdom, is referred to as Ādi-Buddha.

The unreformed Lamaist sects in Tibet acknowledged a primordial Buddha whom they worshipped under the name of Samantabhadra. He was figured seated with the legs locked; but unlike the other representations of Ādi-Buddha, he has neither crown nor ornaments, and when in his esoteric form was represented nude;¹ if in paintings, his colour is blue.

The semi-reformed sect of Lamas, the 'Red-caps', as well as the Nepalese Mahāyānists, worshipped the Ādi-Buddha under the name of Vajrasattva; while the 'Yellow-caps' (reformed school), looked upon Vajradhara as the Supreme Power and Creator of all things.

In Java, according to Sir Charles Eliot, the primordial principle called Advaya was apparently equivalent to the Nepalese Ādi-Buddha,² for in the Javanese treatise on the Mahāyāna, the Kamahāyānikan, it is explained that from Advaya were evolved the Buddhas, gods, and world of phenomena.

In Japan, although the term Ādi-Buddha is not known, the Dhyāni-Buddhas, Amitābha and Vairocana, are both looked upon as Supreme. They are not believed, however, to have evolved the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, nor are they ever worshipped in company with a *śakti*, while in Nepal and Tibet the Ādi-Buddha is frequently represented with his female energy, in which case he is called Yogāmbara, and the *śakti* Digāmbara (or Jñāneśvarī). If they are represented separately, the god, according to Hodgson,³ has the *dharmacakra mudrā*, and the *śakti* the *dhyāna mudrā* holding a bowl. In this esoteric form they are nude.

The Ādi-Buddha is always figured as a 'crowned' Buddha, that is to say that although he is a Buddha, he wears the crown and traditional ornaments of a Bodhisattva and is dressed in princely garments.⁴ His consort is Ādi-Dharma (Ādi Prajña).

¹ v. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 40.

² *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 173.

³ Ādi-Buddha as Yogāmbara, or the esoteric form (Pl. iv, fig. d), is represented nude with the legs closely locked. He wears no jewels and has

the *ūrṇā* and *uśnīṣa* (v. Glossary). Hodgson, *Sketch of Buddhism derived from the Buddha Scriptures of Nepal*, pub. Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii, 1830, Pl. i, fig. a.

⁴ v. Pl. LXVII.

VAJRADHARA (Ādi-Buddha)

(Thunderbolt-bearer).

(T.) *rdo-rje-hc'an* (He who holds a thunderbolt).(M.) *Očirdara* (corruption of Vajradhara), or *Vačir bariqči* (He who holds a thunderbolt).Symbols : *vajra* (thunderbolt).
ghaṇṭā (bell).Mudrā : *vajra-hūṃ-kāra*.¹

Colour : dark blue.

Śakti : *Prajñāpāramitā*.Other names : *Karmavajra*,
Dharmavajra.

Vajradhara, the 'Indestructible', lord of all mysteries, master of all secrets, is an exoteric representation of Ādi-Buddha, and in this form is believed to reign over the Eastern Quarter. According to Schlagintweit, it is to Vajradhara that the subdued and conquered evil spirits swear allegiance and renounce all active opposition to the Buddhist faith.

In Tibetan temple banners, he is sometimes figured presiding over the 'Eight Terrible Ones',² in which case he is blue in colour and is placed immediately above the central deity, which is always Yamāntaka surrounded by the other seven Dharma-pāla.

Certain Lamaist sects identified Vajradhara with Vajrasattva, while others looked upon Vajrasattva as an active form of Vajradhara, who was too lost in divine quietude to occupy himself directly with the affairs of sentient beings.³ Others again worshipped Vajradhara as a supreme deity distinct and apart from Vajrasattva. The 'Yellow-caps', as well as certain branches of the earlier sects of 'Red-caps', acknowledged Vajradhara as supreme, and worshipped him practically to the exclusion of Vajrasattva.

Vajradhara was thus looked upon as Ādi-Buddha by the two greatest sects of the Mahāyāna school : the dKar-hGya-pa (Red-caps) and the dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow-caps).⁴

He is always represented seated, with his legs locked and the soles of his feet apparent, and wears the Bodhisattva crown as well as the dress and ornaments of an Indian prince. He has the *ūrṇā* and *uśnīṣa*.⁵ His arms are crossed on his breast in the *vajra-hūṃ-kāra mudrā* holding the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*. These two symbols may, however, be supported by flowering branches on either side, the stems being held in the crossed hands, which is his special mystic gesture (v. Pl. II, fig. b, and Pl. III, fig. c). If in paintings, he is dark blue.

As 'Karmavajra' (*Dorje las*) his left hand holds a lotus and his right hand is in *vitarka* (argument) *mudrā* : arm bent, hand raised, palm turned outward, all fingers extended upward except the index and thumb which touch at the tips, called 'triangular pose' (v. *vitarka*).

As 'Dharmavajra' (*Dorje c'os*) his right hand balances a double *vajra* at his breast, and the left holds the bell on the hip.

¹ Mystic gesture ; v. Glossary.

² Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 161, fig. 133 (No. 9).

³ Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 51.

⁴ Prof. S. Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 'On certain Tibetan scrolls and images', *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, No. 1.

⁵ v. Glossary.

When Vajradhara holds his *śakti* in *yab-yum*¹ attitude, his arms are crossed at her back, holding his usual symbols. The *yum* holds a *vajra* and *kapāla* (skull-cup).

In Siam, the cult of Vajradhara, although not so flourishing as that of Vajrasattva, was nevertheless adopted by certain Mahāyāna sects, for bronze images have been found² where Vajradhara is represented seated with the legs in *paryāṅka* pose (one leg placed above the other with both soles visible). He wears a crown and many jewels, and carries a *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* in his hands loosely crossed before the breast and not against it, as in the Tibetan images. Vajradhara seems to have had no following in Indo-China, Java, China, or Japan.

VAJRASATTVA³ (Ādi-Buddha)

(Whose essence is the Thunderbolt).

Buddha of Supreme Intelligence.

(T.) *rdo-rje sems-dpaḥ* (soul of the thunderbolt).

Colour: white.

(C.) *Wo-tzu-lo-sa-tsui* (幹資羅薩埵).

Bodhisattva of Akshobhya (Dhyāni-Buddha) and chief (Tsovo) or president of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas.

(J.) *Kongōsatta* (essence of a diamond).

Symbols: *vajra* (thunderbolt).

Śakti: *Ghaṇṭāpāṇi*.

ghaṇṭā (bell).

The position of Vajrasattva in the Mahāyāna pantheon is difficult to determine. He is looked upon as the spiritual son of Akshobhya, and is at the same time Tsovo or chief of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. M. de la Vallée Poussin identifies him with Vajradhara. Eitel calls him the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha of the Yogācārya school.⁴

The Svābhāvika sect in Nepal identified Svabhāva⁵ (Ādi-Buddha) with Vajrasattva, who, according to the Nepalese Buddhist writings, manifested himself on Mount Sumeru in the following manner. A lotus-flower of precious jewels appeared on the summit of the mountain which is the centre of the universe, and above it arose a moon-crescent upon which, 'supremely exalted', was seated Vajrasattva.

It is not probable that the *image* of the Ādi-Buddha Vajrasattva is here meant, but rather the *symbol* which designates the Ādi-Buddha, a līṅga-shaped flame. If the moon-crescent, which arose above the lotus-flower, is represented with the flame symbol in the centre, instead of the 'image of Vajrasattva', it *forms a trident*.⁶ The special emblem of the Svābhāvika sect was a trident rising from a lotus-flower, which, if we accept the above hypothesis, symbolized the manifestation of Vajrasattva as Ādi-Buddha on Mount Sumeru.



¹ The *yum* (*śakti*) in the embrace of the god (*yab*).

² Coedès, *Bronzes Khmers*, Ars Asiatica, pl. xxvii, fig. 1.

³ *Vajra* (thunderbolt or diamond), *sattva* (essence).

⁴ v. *The Dhyāni-Buddhas*. According to the *Abhidhānottara tantra* he is the 'représentant de

tous les Buddhas', v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 96.

⁵ *Sva* (own), *bhāva* (nature). Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 73.

⁶ v. illustration, G. d'Alviella, *La Migration des Symboles*, fig. 159, and v. Pl. xix, fig. d. Also see *Stūpa*.

In the Musée Guimet there is an example of a Bodhisattva (or 'crowned' Buddha), with four heads,¹ seated, with the legs locked, and balancing a *vajra* on his hands in *dhyāna mudrā*. As the Ādi-Buddhas are always represented with the Bodhisattva ornaments, it may be a representation of Vajrasattva as Ādi-Buddha; and since Brahmā, chief of all the Brahman gods, has four heads, the idea of representing Vajrasattva in the same manner may have been borrowed from Brahmanism to distinguish Vajrasattva as Ādi-Buddha, chief of all the gods of the Mahāyāna system, from his manifestations which occupy a less exalted position in the Northern Buddhist pantheon.

As sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, Vajrasattva presides over the Yidam,² and has the same relation to the Ādi-Buddha that the Mānushi (human) Buddha has to his ethereal counterpart or Dhyāni-Buddha. The sixth sense is believed to have emanated from him, as well as the last of the six elements of which man is composed—the *manas*, or mind (v. *The Dhyāni-Buddhas*).

It was believed by certain sects that from Vajrasattva proceeded the five Dhyāni-Buddhas; but in the Padma-t'an-yig³ he takes the place of Akshobhya himself, in the Eastern Quarter.

Vajrasattva is usually represented seated on a lotus with the legs locked, but the right leg may be pendent, supported by a lotus. He wears a crown in which there is often an image of Akshobhya, and the dress and ornaments of a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva. Against his breast, he generally holds the *vajra* in his right hand; but the *vajra* may be balanced on its point in the palm of his hand. With the left, he holds the *ghaṇṭā* on his hip (v. Pl. II, fig. b). If standing, he balances the *vajra* in his right hand against his breast, while in the left, hanging pendent, he presses the *ghaṇṭā* against his leg.

Unlike the other Dhyāni-Buddhas, he is always crowned with or without his *śakti*, whom he presses against his breast in the *yab-yum*⁴ attitude, with the right hand holding the *vajra*, while the left holds the *ghaṇṭā* on his hip. The *yum* holds the *kapāla* (skull-cup) and *vajra*. This form is only worshipped in secret.⁵

In Nepal, according to Hodgson, he was seldom represented in statuary form, but is more often met with in paintings, and especially in miniatures. In Tibet, however, bronzes of Vajrasattva are not infrequently found, while in paintings, especially in *maṇḍala*, he is often met with.

In Java he is represented like the above Vajrasattva, or with the leg pendent. In the museum at Batavia, there is a silver statuette of Vajrasattva with *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* but without crown or ornaments. In his hair, arranged in a high complicated head-dress, is an image of Akshobhya.

In the temple of Boro Boedoer, the Buddha immured in the cupola above the five Dhyāni-Buddhas is looked upon as Vajrasattva. This coincides with the Tibetan

¹ Collection Bacot, No. 28. It is catalogued as 'Brahmā' (Ts'angs-pa), but Ts'angs-pa does not carry the *vajra*. In the Pantheon des *Tschang-tscha Hutuktu*, there is the representation of a Bodhisattva with four heads balancing a wheel,

which seems to indicate Vairocana (v. *Vairocana*).

² Protectors of Buddhism.

³ v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes*, p. 101.

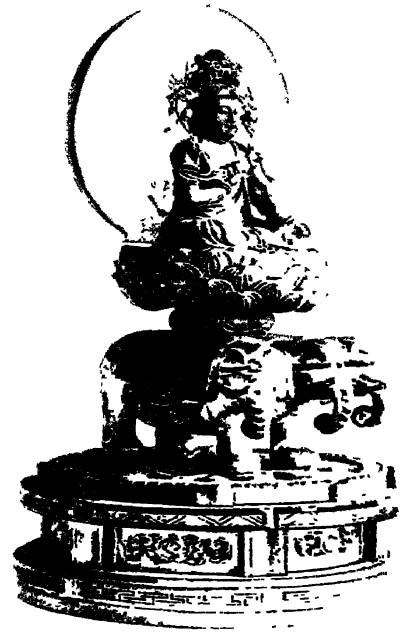
⁴ v. Glossary.

⁵ Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 6.

PLATE IV



a. KONGŌSATTA



b. KONGŌSATTA



c. ESOTERIC BUDDHA



d. ESOTERIC BUDDHA

conception of Vajrasattva, the 'concealed lord', as well as the Nepalese, for in Nepal he is worshipped in secret, and by those alone who are initiated into the mysteries of the Vajrayāna.¹

Judging from the many bronze statuettes of Vajrasattva found in Siam, his cult at one time must have been flourishing. As a rule he is figured seated, but his feet may have three poses: *paryāṅka* or the legs lying the right above the left with the soles apparent; *dhyānāsana* or the legs locked, soles upward. The third pose is peculiar to Siam: only the feet are crossed with the soles apparent. The *vajra* in the right hand is held at the breast, sometimes touching the breast with the point, but it may also be held at the hip in the same way that the *ghaṇṭā* is held in the left hand.²

In Indo-China, Vajrasattva is met with as a rule in stelas and monoliths, where he is figured standing. He may have one head and two arms, in which case he holds the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* at his breast; but he may also be represented with three crowned heads, above which are four Dhyāni-Buddhas, and above these again is the image of Akshobhya, his Dhyāni-Buddha. He has six arms, and in his two normal arms, hanging pendent, he holds a *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*.

In Japan, he is found in statuary form as well as in paintings, and is called Kongōsatta. The Japanese look upon Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva as a form of Vajrasattva.

KONGŌSATTA³

(Japanese form of Vajrasattva).

Symbols: *vajra* (thunderbolt).
ghaṇṭā (bell).

Colour: pinkish white.
Vāhana⁴: elephant (white).

There is a divergence of opinion in Japan in regard to the divinity whose representations seem to correspond with that of Vajrasattva in Tibet. He is seated with the legs locked, dressed like the usual Japanese Bodhisattva. The right hand holds the *vajra* at the breast, like Vajrasattva. The left hand rests the *ghaṇṭā* on the left knee instead of holding it on the hip like Vajrasattva. He may have from two to six or more arms, and has both a 'mild' and 'ferocious' form.

The 'mild' form has usually two arms, and is seated on a lotus-throne which is often supported by an elephant,⁵ for which reason he is sometimes mistaken for Fugen (Samantabhadra), especially as the elephant frequently has three heads⁶ and is

¹ Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 6.

² Coedès, *Bronzes Khmers*, Pl. xxvii, fig. 1—fig. 3; Pl. xxviii, fig. 3.

³ *Kongō* (diamond), *satta* (*sattva*—element or essence). ⁴ v. Glossary.

⁵ The elephant is the mount of the spiritual father of Vajrasattva, the Dhyāni-Buddha Akshobhya.

⁶ Fugen is, however, usually supported by a white elephant with one head and six tusks, but it may also have only two tusks. The apparent confusion in Japan in regard to the representations of Fugen and Kongōsatta may be explained by the fact that in the Secret Doctrine they are the same.

always white (Pl. iv, fig. b, and Pl. LVII, fig. c). The *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, however, are not Fugen's symbols (v. *Fugen*), and the elephant may have four heads. If this form has four or six arms, the original arms hold the same symbols as the above, and in the same manner, while two of the accessory arms always brandish the bow and arrow (v. *Trailokya-vijaya*). If there are six arms, the symbols held by the fifth and sixth may vary. (v. Pl. LVII, fig. c.)

Kongōsatta may also be supported by four white elephants, which face east, south, west, and north, and on each of which is one of the Lokapāla or guardians of the Four Cardinal Points (Pl. iv, fig. a). He holds the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*; but instead of the bell, he may hold a lotus, which is the symbol of Samantabhadra, and this seems to be a form of Kongōsatta and Fugen merged into one. In fact, in the Secret Doctrine they are identified, for Kongōsatta is referred to in the *Himitsu Jirin* as a form of Fugen, having been given a *vajra* by Dainichi-nyorai. He may have the five Dhyāni-Buddhas in his crown, and is always figured seated holding the *vajra* at his breast with the right hand, while the *ghaṇṭā*, in his left, lies in his lap. He is often found in Japanese as well as Tibetan *maṇḍala* (mystic diagram), sometimes surrounded by the four Guardians of the four Quarters.

According to the Shingon sect, Kongōsatta is the active form of Dainichi-nyorai, and is met with in the mystic maṇḍalas: the Gharba-kośa and the Vajra-dhātu.

In the Garbha-kośa, besides his esoteric form in the eight-petaled lotus, he presides over the deities in the Vajrapāṇi assembly; in the Vajradhātu, he is represented in the seventh enclosure surrounded by eight emanations, or rather, aspects of himself. Trailokya-vijaya (v. p. 114), in the eighth enclosure, is his form when descending to the Three Worlds; while in the ninth enclosure, he is represented in *samaya* or symbol form.

Vajrasattva has a ferocious form in Japan which has four or six arms, a third eye, and an angry expression. He has no crown, but his hair is drawn up in a complicated head-dress, out of which protrudes a *vajra*. Above his forehead is a skull; but in Japan, this form may have the head of a roaring lion in the upstanding hair. The normal hands hold the *vajra* at the breast and the *ghaṇṭā* on the hip. The other hands hold bow and arrow and other Tantric symbols. If in paintings, his colour is red. The author has never seen the 'ferocious' form supported by an elephant. He is worshipped by the Tendai and Shingon sects, and is called Aizen-myō-ō (Pl. LVII, fig. b). He is found in a triad with Kwannon and Fudō, and in spite of his ferocious aspect, he is looked upon as god of Love. As both the 'mild' and 'ferocious' forms hold the same symbols, and in the same manner, may not Aizen-myō-ō be termed the 'ferocious' form of Kongōsatta? ¹

¹ In the *Himitsu Jirin*, p. 6, Aizen-myō-ō is called a 'transformation' of Kongōsatta.

■

PLATE V

BHAIṢAGYAGURU AND HIS *PARIVARA*

■



THE BUDDHAS

TABLE II

The Buddhas	{	I. Dīpaṅkara Buddha.
		II. Kāśyapa.
		III. Gautama Buddha.
		IV. Maitreya ¹ (The Coming Buddha).
		V. Maṇḍa (Buddha of Medicine).

¹ v. *The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva*.

THE BUDDHAS (NIRMAṆA KĀYA)¹

'THE Buddhas who have been, are, and will be, are more numerous than the grains of sand on the banks of the Ganges' (*Aparimita-Dhāraṇī*).

Mahāyānists believe that the Buddhas have appeared in the world at intervals and in series that know no beginning nor end. Little is known, however, of these innumerable Buddhas preceding the Buddha, Śākya-muni.

The Mahāyānists in Nepal adopted a system of 1,000 Buddhas which were known in Tibet and described in the first volume of the *Kah-gyur*.² In China they were also known, for the grotto temples at Tun-huang were dedicated to the Ts'ien-fo-tong or the Thousand Buddhas.³

Hodgson gives a list of fifty-six Buddhas taken from the *Lalita Vistara*, in which the last seven Tathāgata, called the 'Saptamānushi-Buddhas' (the seven human Buddhas),⁴ are: Vipāśyi, Sikhī, and Viśvabhu of the preceding *kalpa*, and Krakucchanda, Kana-kamuni, Kāśyapa, and Śākya-muni of the present cycle. Sometimes the Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Ratnagarbha were added, making a group of nine Buddhas.

Later on, there appeared a group of twenty-four mythical Buddhas, of whom the Dīpaṅkara Buddha (the first of the twenty-four) is the best known, and Gautama Buddha is added to this group, making twenty-five in all. Sometimes the last seven of the group (including Gautama Buddha) are reckoned as the seven Principal Buddhas, who, with the coming Buddha Maitreya, form a group of eight, and eight has remained a popular number among Buddhists for grouping the gods (the eight Bodhisattva, the 'eight Terrible Ones', &c.).

The group of the five Mānushi-Buddhas,⁵ corresponding with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas and five Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, became, however, the most popular in Nepal; and was adopted not only in Tibet, but in China and Japan, and has lasted up to the present day.

A Mānushi-Buddha, according to the system of Ādi-Buddha, is one who has acquired such enlightenment (*bōdhi-jñāna*) by his previous incarnations as Bodhisattva, that he is capable of receiving Bodhi, or Supreme Wisdom, a particle of the essence of Ādi-Buddha. He has become a Tathāgata⁶ and can have no more rebirths, but at his death will attain Nirvāṇa-pada, or absorption into the Ādi-Buddha.

Those of the Northern Buddhist sects that did not adopt the system of Ādi-Buddha, looked upon the Mānushi-Buddha as a manifestation of, or an emanation from, the Dhyāni-Buddha; or, according to the system of the Tri-kāya, as a distinct nature or body (*kāya*) representing the embodiment of intellectual essence.

¹ Body of transformation. In Japanese, Hosshin-nyorai.

² S. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 96, n. 1.

³ Pelliot, *Les Grottes bouddhiques de Touen-houang*.

⁴ v. Pl. LXV, a and c.

⁵ Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākya-muni, Maitreya. For the twenty-four mythical Buddhas, see R.S. Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 94.

⁶ v. Glossary.

PLATE VI



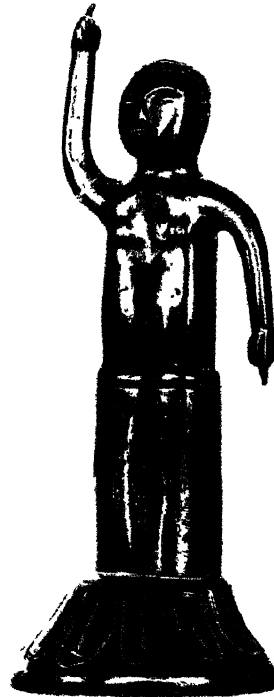
a. DĪPAṆKARA BUDDHA (?)



b. GAUTAMA BUDDHA

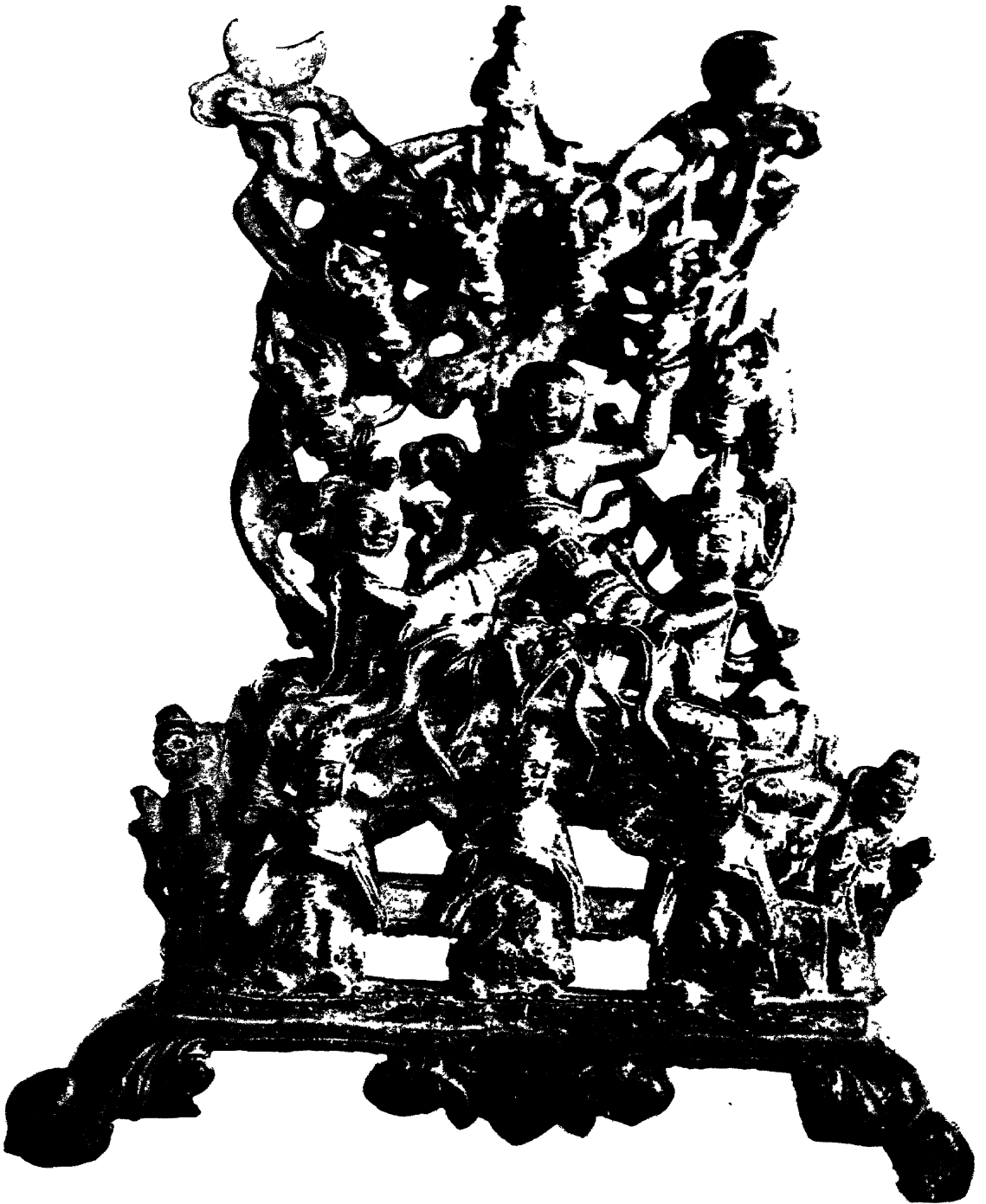


c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA SPEAKING HIS FIRST WORDS

PLATE VII



GAUTAMA BUDDHA (FIRST BATH GIVEN BY THE NĀGAS)

The system of the Tri-kāya¹ supposed each Buddha to have three *kāya* or bodies—that is to say, three distinct natures, which might be said to be living in three spheres at the same time.

1. On earth, as Mānushi-Buddha—mortal and ascetic, having passed through innumerable transformations on earth and arrived at the Nirmāṇa-kāya state of practical Bodhi (knowledge).

2. In Nirvāṇa, as Dhyāni-Buddha—abstract body of absolute purity, in the Dharma-kāya state of essential Bodhi.

3. In reflex in the Rūpadhātu heavens as Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, body of supreme happiness, in the Sambhoga-kāya state of reflected Bodhi.²

The *kāya* of a Mānushi-Buddha is material, visible, and perishable. Being of human form, the Mānushi-Buddha is born into the world and released from it by death. He did not, however, enter the world as a Buddha but as a Bodhisattva, nor did he reach the stage of Buddhahood until the moment when he attained Supreme Enlightenment, such as Śākya-muni under the Bodhi-tree. 'After the Enlightenment', according to M. de la Vallée Poussin,³ 'nothing earthly, human, heavenly, or mundane remains of a Tathāgata. Therefore his visible appearance is but a contrived or magical body . . . the unsubstantial body which remains of a Bodhisattva after he has reached Buddhahood.'

It was believed by the Mahāyānists that when the Bodhisattva arrived at the stage of Bodhi, he would have acquired the thirty-two superior and eighty inferior outward marks⁴ of a Buddha. In the *Mahāvastu* it is written that the future Buddha would have all the outward 'signs' at his last rebirth;⁵ but the representations of Śākya-muni as a child do not show the protuberance on the skull⁶ (*ushnīsha*) which is the most important and probably the last acquired of the thirty-two outward signs. Nor as an ascetic is he represented with the full-sized *ushnīsha*.⁷ It is only after his attainment of Supreme Wisdom that the representations of the Buddha show the fully-developed protuberance on the skull—the receptacle, presumably, of the divine mind (*manas*), which was thought too great to be held in a normal-sized skull.

Although the different Mahāyāna sects disagreed as to the source of the divine intelligence, they were all of accord in believing that after the attainment of Bodhi

¹ v. Schmidt, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, 6^e série, II (1834), pp. 41–86; Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*; and de la Vallée Poussin, 'The Three Bodies of a Buddha', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oct. 1906.

² Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*. Sometimes a fourth body is given, the *Svabhāva-kāya*. According to Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature, and Religions of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 92, there are five bodies, the last two being Mahāsukha-kāya and Jñāna-kāya.

³ 'The Three Bodies of a Buddha', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oct. 1906.

⁴ *lakṣhaṇa*; v. Glossary.

⁵ According to M. de la Vallée Poussin, the Bodhisattva would possess the marks in 'germ state' and 'ripen' them in course of his different reincarnations.

⁶ v. Pl. vi, fig. d, and Pl. vii, as well as illustration, A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, fig. 155.

⁷ v. Pl. x.

the 'body' of the Tathāgata was animated by a divine force. This 'body of Transformation' (Nirmāṇa-kāya) of the Mānushi-Buddha has been variously explained. M. de la Vallée Poussin is of the opinion that it is a 'magical' body, in other words, an illusion; while Mr. G. R. S. Mead calls it the 'outer shell of the inner body of Transformation'. Might it not also mean the transformation of the 'body' of the Bodhisattva as he approaches Buddhahood—the acquiring (or developing) one by one, in his different rebirths, of the thirty-two superior and eighty inferior marks which are outward proofs of his inner progress towards Bodhi?

Certain Northern Buddhist sects designated the Tri-kāya by the triad 'Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha'. 'Buddha' symbolized the generative power, 'Dharma' (or Prajñā) the productive power, and their union produced 'Saṅgha' (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva), the active author of creation.

The Mānushi-Buddha is always represented in monastic garments without ornaments, and with the right shoulder and breast, or only the breast, bare, and with the *ūrṇā*,¹ *uśnīṣa*, and long-lobed ears. He is usually seated with closely locked legs, but may also be standing.

Suzuki, in his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, writes: 'If we draw a parallel between the Buddhist and the Christian Trinity, the Body of Transformation (Nirmāṇa-kāya) may be considered to correspond to Christ in the flesh, the Body of Bliss (Sambhoga-kāya) either to Christ in glory or to the Holy Ghost, and Dharma-kāya to the Godhead.'

DĪPAṆKARA BUDDHA

(Buddha of Fixed Light).

(T.) *mar-me-mṣad* (the illuminator or enlightener).

(M.) *ḥula joḡiaqčī* (the maker of the lamp).²

(C.) *T'ing-kuang-fo* (定光佛).³

Mudrā: *abhaya* ('blessing of Fearlessness').
vara (charity).

Colour: yellow.

Bodhi-tree: *pulila*.

In one of the innumerable past *kalpas* there lived a king called Arcishṭra in the royal city of Dīpavatī. During the same *kalpa*, Dīpaṅkara was a Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven, and, as the time had arrived for him to manifest himself as a Buddha, he descended to earth, and, finding the king Arcishṭra⁴ a suitable father, entered into the womb of his virtuous spouse Suśīlā.

The *Mahāvastu Avadāna* goes on to relate that 'when in the throes of childbirth, she requested the king to send her to a lotus tank. When she arrived at the side of the tank, lo! an island (*dvīpa*) sprang up in the midst of it. The Bodhisattva was born on the island. At the moment of his birth there was a miraculous manifestation

¹ v. Glossary.

² Eitel. According to E. Denison Ross, 'that makes a lamp or light'.

³ Beal. According to Edkins, 'Jan-teng'.

⁴ In the *Mahāvastu* his father is called Arcismat and his mother Sudpa.



a. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



b. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA

of a large number of bright lamps (*dīpa*), hence his name Dīpaṅkara. On the second day of his birth Dīpaṅkara commenced his philanthropic tour round the earth, equally useful to gods and men. . . . Megha offered five lotus-flowers¹ to Dīpaṅkara and asked that he might become, in one of his future existences, equal to Dīpaṅkara in power and knowledge and in every good quality. His request was granted. It was foretold on this occasion that Megha would become Buddha Śākya-muni of Kāpilavastu.²

The above legend has several variations. According to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, a Brahman, Sumati³ by name, was present at the sacrifice of the King of Benares. The king's daughter, Sundarī, saw the Brahman and became enamoured of him; but when he sternly rejected her suit, she became a Bhikṣuṇī (Buddhist nun). Sumati then had a strange dream and repaired to Dvīpavati, where dwelt the Buddha Dvīpaṅkara,⁴ to ask for its interpretation. There he met the Bhikṣuṇī, Sundarī, who was carrying seven *utpala* lotus-flowers.

Now, the king had commanded that all the flowers in the surrounding country should be brought to the palace, for the Buddha Dvīpaṅkara was to pass through the city and the flowers were to be strewn in his path. Thus had Sumati hunted in vain for flowers to offer before the Buddha, and seeing that Sundarī carried seven lotus-flowers, he begged them of her. She willingly gave them to him, at the same time praying that, in their next existence, he might be her husband. Sumati promised that such would be the case, and telling her he would offer two of the flowers in her name, prostrated himself before the Dvīpaṅkara Buddha. He then offered the flowers, which, according to some accounts, arose in the air and formed a *baldachin* over the Buddha's head. Sumati then unbound his long hair and spread it on the ground before the Dvīpaṅkara Buddha, who, treading upon it, exclaimed, 'You shall become a great Buddha, Śākya-muni by name!'⁵ This incident, as well as that of the flowers, is a favourite one in Buddhist art.

According to Grünwedel, the Dīpaṅkara Buddha is the twenty-fourth teacher of Buddhist law before Śākya-muni, and the last four alone (with Maitreya added to them) belong to the present period. The Southern school accepts the list of twenty-four Tathāgatha, while the Northern Buddhists reckon the Dīpaṅkara Buddha as the fifty-second predecessor of Śākya-muni. Hodgson places him as the first Tathāgatha of the actual universe, and the ninth predecessor of Gautama Buddha. The most popular system, however, is the list of twenty-four Tathāgatha, with the Dīpaṅkara Buddha as the first and Gautama Buddha added as the twenty-fifth.

The Dīpaṅkara Buddha is believed to have lived 100,000 years on earth. According to Beal, he was 3,000 years on earth before finding any one worthy of hearing the Divine Truth. He then decided to convert the world, and caused 'the appearance

¹ These flowers are generally represented as growing on one stalk or stem (Beal).

² R. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*.

³ Or Sumedha, or Megha, one of the incarnations of Gautama Buddha.

⁴ Called Dīpaṅkara in the *Mahāvastu*.

⁵ Herr von Le Coq discovered a fresco representing this scene in a temple at Turfan, Chinese Turkestan. It is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

of a great city to proceed from his lamp and fix itself in space'. While the people of Jambudvīpa (India) were gazing upon this miracle, fierce flames were emitted from the four walls. Fear filled their hearts, and they looked for a Buddha to save them. Then Dīpaṅkara came forth from the burning city, descended to Jambudvīpa, seated himself on the Lion Throne,¹ and began to teach the Law. Legend claims that he remained another *kalpa* on earth 'turning the Wheel of the Law'.

In the *Mahāvastu* the Tathāgatha is called 'Dīpaṅkara' (from *dīpa*, meaning 'lamp'),² while in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* he is called 'Dvīpaṅkara' (from *dvīpa* or 'island'). Either name applies to him, for he was born on an island and miraculous lamps burned at his birth. One can, therefore, understand his popularity on the islands of Java and Ceylon and at all Buddhist festivals celebrated by illuminations.

According to M. Foucher³ many of the merchants who carried on commerce with China and the Southern islands were Buddhists. As it was their custom to put their cargo and equipage under the protection of a Buddha, he thinks it not unlikely that the Dīpaṅkara Buddha was looked upon as 'Protector of Mariners'. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*⁴ there is the description of a Buddha walking on the waves while his disciples remain in the boat, and in the caves of Ajanṭā there is a fresco depicting this scene.⁵

The Dīpaṅkara Buddha is represented in Tibet, Java, and Ceylon with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*—gesture of protection, called 'blessing of Fearlessness'.⁶ He is either sitting or standing, with the monastic garment draped over the left shoulder, the folds being held by the left hand either at the shoulder or at the hip. The right shoulder is uncovered, which, according to M. Foucher, indicates an occasion of ceremony. One finds in India the statues of a Buddha much resembling those of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha in Ceylon and Java, but the right shoulder is generally covered and the folds of the garment are held below the hip. Like all Buddhas, Dīpaṅkara has the short, curly hair, the *uṣṇīṣa*, *ūrṇā*, and long-lobed ears.

In Siam, the Dīpaṅkara Buddha has either both hands in *abhaya mudrā* or the right only, while the left hangs against the folds of the monastic garment. (Pl. VI, fig. a.)

The triad in Java is:

Mañjuśrī—Dīpaṅkara Buddha—Vajrapāṇi.

In Ceylon:

Avalokiteśvara—Dīpaṅkara Buddha—Vajrapāṇi.

In Nepal and Tibet:

Śākya-muni—Dīpaṅkara Buddha—Maitreya, called the 'Three White Buddhas'.

¹ *Siṃhāsana*; v. Glossary.

² His name is also translated in this sense in the Tibetan and Mongolian sacred books.

³ *Iconographie bouddhique*, vol. i, p. 80.

⁴ Lotus of the Good Law.

⁵ See miniature in the MS. Add. 1648 of the University Library, Cambridge.

⁶ The left hand may be in *vitarka mudrā* at the breast. v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismisme*, p. 112, fig. 89.

The earliest images of Buddha in Japan resemble the Dīpaṅkara Buddha, with the exception that while the right hand is in *abhaya*¹ *mudrā*, the left is in *vara mudrā*, gesture of charity. The right shoulder is almost invariably covered.

In China, the Dīpaṅkara Buddha has always been popular, and is still worshipped there. In the cave temples of Yün-kang² near Ta-t'ung-fu there are many examples, but only a few standing; the rest are all sitting with legs locked—with both the shoulders covered but with the breast bare. The right hand is in *abhaya mudrā*, while the left generally holds the folds of the monastic garment either at the shoulder or on the left knee. In the Lung-men temple caves there are also many examples much resembling those at Yün-kang.

KĀŚYAPA³ (THIRD MĀNUSHI-BUDDHA)

(The Keeper of Light).

(T.) *hod-srun* (luminous protector).

(M.) *ghasība* (from the Sanskrit) or *gerel-saikičhi* (luminous protector).

(C.) Chia-yeh (伽葉).

(G.) Kashō-butsum.

Mudrā: *vara* (charity).

Vāhana: lion.

Colour: yellow.

Bodhi-tree: banyan.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva: Ratnapāṇi.

Dhyāni-Buddha: Ratnasambhava.

Mānushi-Buddha: Kāśyapa.

Kāśyapa was Mānushi-Buddha in the *kālpa* preceding that of Śākya-muni, who had been his disciple in a former *kālpa*, and whose eventual Buddhahood he had predicted. He lived on earth 20,000 years, and converted 20,000 people.

It is believed that he is buried under Mount Kukkuṭapāda, in Northern India, near Bodh-Gayā, and that when Maitreya comes upon earth as a Mānushi-Buddha, he will go first to the mountain, which will open miraculously. Kāśyapa will then come forth and give to Maitreya the garments of a Buddha, after which his body will be consumed by holy fire⁴ and he will enter Nirvāṇa.⁵

According to the Mahāyāna system, Kāśyapa is the third Mānushi-Buddha of the group of five, and the sixth of the group of seven ancient Buddhas.

Kāśyapa is sometimes represented seated on a Lion Throne, and is always clothed like a Buddha. His right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*, and his left holds a fold of his monastic garment. The two folds held in the hand look like the ears of an animal.

¹ v. Glossary.

² v. plates of Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*.

³ Kāśyapa, lit. '(one who) swallowed light'. In other words, 'the sun and moon which caused his body to shine like gold' (Eitel).

⁴ See R. S. Hardy *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 97.

⁵ As an ancient *cāitya* marks the spot where Kāśyapa is believed to be lying, it may be that the small stūpa in the head-dress of Maitreya symbolizes this fact.

GAUTAMA ŚĀKYA-MUNI¹ (FOURTH MĀNUSHI-BUDDHA)

Siddhārtha of Kapilavastu.

The Supremely Happy One (Bhagavān or Bhagavat).

(T.) *śha-kya thub-pa* (the sage Śākya).(M.) *Sigemuni* or *Burqan* (Buddha Śākya-muni).(C.) *Kiao-la-mo* (喬答摩) and *Shih-chia-mu-ni*.(J.) *Shakamuni*.Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).*dharma-cakra* (turning the wheel of the law).*bhūmisparsa* (witness).or *dhyāna* (meditation).Symbol : *pātra* (begging-bowl).

Colour : golden.

Support : red lotus.

Bodhi-tree : *Ficus religiosa*.

Fourth Dhyāni-Buddha : Amitābha.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Avalokiteśvara.

Mānushi-Buddha : Śākya-muni.

According to Buddhist tradition, Śākya-muni, after passing through 550 existences² as animal, man, and god, was born in the Tushita heaven as Bodhisattva in the *kalpa* preceding the present era. When the time came for him to manifest himself on earth and receive Buddhahood, it is believed that he descended to earth in the form of a white elephant with six tusks. Certain Buddhist sects, however, claim that Śākya-muni descended from the Tushita heaven on a ladder brought to him by Indra, and that the white elephant was only the dream of his mother, Māyā; while others believe that he appeared to his mother like a cloud in the moonlight coming from the north and holding in his hand a lotus-flower. After he had circumambulated her three times, Mahā Māyā discovered that he was lying in her body 'as an infant lies in the womb of its mother'. According to others, he was received in a golden net at birth by Mahā Brahmā, from whom the Guardian Gods of the Four Quarters received him on a spotted tiger skin.

The Japanese Buddhists believe that 'Māyā saw a golden pagoda on a cloud. The doors opened and she saw a golden Buddha within. A white elephant with a red head³ and six tusks appeared, carrying on its head a white lotus, on which Buddha took his seat. From the white spot⁴ on his forehead shone a brilliant light which illuminated the whole universe, and alighting from the white elephant, he passed into her bosom like a shadow.'

Māyā's conception does not seem to have inspired the Indian sculptors to the same extent as the incidents of the birth of the Buddha;⁵ of his first bath at which assisted the Nāga gods;⁶ or of his first steps, when lotus-flowers sprang from the earth under each foot as he walked; or of his flight into the wilderness and meditation under the Bodhi-tree,⁷ his temptation by Māra, and of his Parinirvāṇa or death. (Pl. XII, fig. a, and Pl. XIII, fig. d.)

¹ Śākya, the mighty (the Śākya Sage).

² Eitel gives '5,000 existences'.

³ In one of the miniatures in the MS. Add. 1648 in the University Library, Cambridge, the Buddha is represented surrounded by four elephants with red heads.

⁴ *ūrṇā*; v. Glossary.

⁵ Every Buddha is born from the right side of his mother; v. miniature in the MS. Add. 1648 in the University Library, Cambridge.

⁶ v. the *Nagas* and Pl. VII.

⁷ Each Buddha has his sacred tree under which he attained Buddhahood.

PLATE IX



GAUTAMA BUDDHA

Up to the first century of our era, the sculptors in India were still so strongly under the influence of the Buddha's teachings that they had made no image of him. In fact, according to M. Foucher, they succeeded in 'representing the life of Buddha without Buddha'.¹ In the panels of the famous *stūpa* at Amarāvati (South-east India), his birth and his presentation to the sage Aśita are represented by the imprints of his feet. On the Sānci *stūpa* his departure from the palace is depicted by a horse with its saddle empty. At the temple of Bodhi-Gayā, his first meditation is symbolized by a vacant seat. At Barhut, according to M. Foucher, an inscription on the *stūpa* explains that the personages depicted kneeling before a vacant throne are rendering homage to the very 'Happy One'.

As he was called a 'wheel king',² the Tathāgata was sometimes represented by a wheel with eight spokes. If the sermon in the deer park at Benares was meant, the wheel was flanked on either side by a gazelle.³ A Bodhi-tree, as well as a column topped by a trident, symbolized his teachings. A ladder with footprints on the top and bottom rungs denoted his descent from the Tushita heaven, and a white elephant with six tusks his last incarnation.

According to Hsüan Tsang, the first image of the Buddha was made at the command of King Udayana, while the Tathāgata was in the Trayastrimśa heaven, where he had gone to convert his mother to Buddhism. Upon his return to earth, after ninety days, the statue was completed. It was five feet high and was made from a precious sandal-wood called *gośirsha*.⁴ When the Buddha appeared before the statue it lifted itself in mid-air and saluted him, whereupon the Tathāgata prophesied that Buddhism would spread to China one thousand years after his Parinirvāṇa.⁵ The Chinese Buddhists claim that the sandal-wood statue was taken to China by Kāśyapa Mātanga when he joined the Emperor Mingti's mission in the first century A.D., and that it was presented to the emperor.

According to other accounts⁶ it was King Prasenajit who was the originator of Buddhist idolatry. He caused an image of Gautama to be made in 'purple' gold. It was five feet high. The Japanese Buddhists believe that this statue was made by the Buddha himself from gold brought from Mount Sumeru. Chinese legend records a golden image of Buddha taken in a warlike expedition 122 B. C. by the Hiu-ch'u, a people who lived in the Kansu, and sent to the Chinese Emperor.⁷

At Lhassa, in the temple of the Dalai Lama, there is a gilt statue of the Buddha said to have been brought from China in the seventh century A.D. by the Chinese

¹ *Débuts de l'art bouddhique*, p. 8.

² 'A king who rules the world and causes the wheel of doctrine everywhere to revolve'—Edkins. (v. *Cakra*.)

³ Symbol which is represented over the door of the entrance of every Buddhist temple in Tibet and Mongolia.

⁴ The 'Udayana' Buddha is supposed to have been represented with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* and the left in *varada mudrā*. Both of

the shoulders were covered, and an end of the monastic robe was thrown over the left shoulder close around the throat. At any rate, the term 'Udayana' is used for the above manifestation of the Buddha. v. Pl. xxv, fig. c.

⁵ The Chinese, in order to fulfil this prophecy, date back the birth of Buddha one thousand years.

⁶ Fah-hsien.

⁷ According to Paul Pelliot, it was more likely an ancestral statue.

wife of the Tibetan king, sRong-tsan-sgam-po, who was the daughter of a Chinese prince of the Imperial family.

The first image of Buddha in Japan was brought by a Chinese priest A. D. 534, and eighteen years later the Korean king sent to the Emperor of Japan a golden image of the Buddha, which is believed to be the statue now in the Zenkōji temple at Nagano.

The Indian images of the Buddha represent him with short locks, for, according to Buddhist tradition, Gautama, after his flight from the palace, drew forth his sword and cut off his long hair. In the *Mahāvastu* it is written that the hair was caught by the gods and carried to the Trayastrimśa heavens, where it was worshipped as a sacred relic. According to some accounts, they carried away his turban as well.¹ The Gandhāra school seldom portrayed the Buddha, however, with short locks,² but depicted the event by his taking off his turban and ear-rings. The short locks, following tradition, should curl from left to right,³ and were represented by the Indian artists in the shape of sea-shells. In China and Japan they sometimes took the form of round beads or sharp spikes. The earliest examples, however, in China have the hair drawn up into a round-shaped chignon like the Greco-Buddhist statues. Later examples have the short curls, and the *ushnīṣa* is either round or pointed, but never high nor ending in a flame symbol.

The representations of the Buddha must always have either the chignon or the protuberance on the skull which is presumably the seat of the *manas*, or divine mind (soul) of the Buddha. It may be terminated by a round ornament (the flaming pearl),⁴ or have, as in Nepal, a single flame issuing from it. In Ceylon, the flame is three or five-forked (v. Pl. LX, fig. c), and in Siam it may be seven-forked. The Buddhas, however, in Siam, as well as in Burma, often have the *ushnīṣa* covered by an ornate head-dress which is tapering in shape and somewhat resembles a *stūpa* (v. Pl. VIII, fig. c, and Pl. XI, figs. a and b). In Burma he may have three crowns, two of which are posed on the *ushnīṣa*, from which rises a flame linga-shaped.

There is usually the auspicious mark (*ūrṇā*) on the forehead of the Indian Buddha, and the lobes of the ears are long. The monastic garment is almost invariably draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and shoulder bare, which fact indicates a ceremony of importance. In the early Indian images of the Buddha, the right hand is generally raised, the fingers extending upward, the palm turned outward,⁵ while the left hand lies on the lap, with the palm turned upward. If seated, the legs are closely locked in the 'adamantine' pose; both feet apparent, the soles turned upward, sometimes marked by a wheel, or a button resembling the *ūrṇā* on the forehead. There may be, in Tibet, a *svastika* (but rarely) marked on the breast, or lying on the throne before the Buddha (Pl. II, fig. c).

¹ A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, p. 363.
v. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 161.

² There is, however, an example of a Buddha of Bandhāra at Peshawar (Museum, No. 1877) which is possibly of early date and has the short curls.

³ One of the thirty-two superior marks of a Buddha. v. *Lakṣaṇa*. The priests of the Ge-

lugs-pa sect always turn their prayer wheels from left to right.

⁴ *Cintāmaṇi*, v. Glossary.

⁵ The *abhaya mudrā* (v. Glossary) gesture of the Buddha in the episode of the mad elephant. v. miniature in the MS. Add. 1404 in the University Library, Cambridge.

PLATE X



a GAUTAMA BUDDHA, ASCETIC



b GAUTAMA BUDDHA, ASCETIC



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA, ASCETIC



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA, ASCETIC

When the sculptor wished to indicate the sermon in the deer park at Benares, a wheel was apparent somewhere on the statue, but in later images the fact was indicated by a pose of the hands called *dharmacakra*¹ *mudrā* (turning the Wheel of the Law).

Another early *mudrā* or mystic pose of the hands of the Buddha was the *dhyaṇa mudrā*, representing his meditation (*samādhi*) under the Bodhi-tree. In this pose both hands lie on the lap, the right on top of the left, with the palms turned upward,² and the figure, with the legs closely locked, formed a *perfect triangle* (v. *trikona*).

As Buddha, 'Liberator of the Nāgas'³ (*kLu-dbañ-rgyal-pa*), he may have either the *dhyaṇa mudrā* or a special pose⁴ of the hands, held at the breast with all fingers locked except the indexes, which are raised and touch at the tips. Gautama Buddha may be represented either seated on the coils of a serpent with its hood of five or seven heads spread over him, or seated on a lotus throne with only the serpent's hood protecting his head. (v. Pl. LVIII, figs. *c* and *d*.) According to Buddhist scriptures, the Buddha once sat near a lake absorbed in meditation. The tutelary deity of the lake was the Nāga king, Mucilinda, who 'wishing to preserve him (Buddha) from the sun and rain, wrapped his body seven times around him and spread his hood over his head, and there Buddha remained seven days in thought'.

Buddha, invoking the earth to witness his resistance of the temptations of the Spirit of Evil, Māra, is represented by the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*.⁵ The right arm is stretched downward, all the fingers are extended, the tips touching the earth, the palm turned underneath (v. Glossary and Pls. I and VII).

Buddha of the Vajrāsana (diamond throne)⁶ has also the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. He is awakening to the consciousness of Buddhahood from the state of Bodhisattva. He is seated under the Bodhi-tree on the 'diamond' throne, 'supposed to be the centre of the universe and the only spot capable of supporting the weight of a Buddha and his thoughts'.⁷ The 'diamond' throne is sometimes indicated by a *vajra* lying in front of Buddha on the lotus throne (Pl. II, fig. *d*). The most beautiful example of Buddha of the Vajrāsana is in the temple of Mahābodhi at Bodhi-Gaya, where he is not only worshipped by the Buddhists, but also by the Brahmans, as one of the *avatārs* of Viṣṇu, and there is a Viṣṇu mark on his forehead.

The Buddhas of the Gandhāra sculptures show strong Hellenic influence. The features are Grecian. The hair, long and wavy, is caught up in a knot in place of the protuberance of the skull of the Indian images. (v. Pl. XI, fig. *c*.) The *ūrṇā* is usually omitted, and the lobes of the ears are somewhat elongated by the weight of the ear-rings which he wore during his youth, but not to the abnormal extent characteristic of the Indian school. In the early images there is no moustache, but later statues have a slight moustache which one also sees in Japan, especially in paintings.

¹ *Dharmacakra mudrā*, v. Glossary.

² Also *mudrā* of Amitābha.

³ Or Powerful King of the Nāgas (serpent gods).

⁴ v. Glossary, *Uttara Bodhi*, and v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 110, fig. 87.

⁵ In a fresco in the caves of Ajanta, when

assaulted by Māra and his army, the right hand of the Buddha has the *palm turned outward* with the index and second finger touching the earth.

⁶ *Vajra* is here translated 'diamond' in the sense of 'indestructible'.

⁷ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 91.

In fact the Gandhāra images of Śākya-muni as Bodhisattva may have both a moustache and, when in the ascetic form of Gautama, a beard. The right arm and shoulder are never bare, but are covered by the monastic garment draped in the Grecian fashion over the left shoulder.

It is this form of the Buddha that found its way from India into China and Japan, presumably via Khotan (Chinese Turkestan), where there was an art-loving court in the seventh century A. D. The celebrated painter, Wei-ch'ih I-seng, of Khotan, lived at that time and was much at the Chinese court. Is it improbable that partly through his influence the Gandhāra school was introduced into China, where, however, it lasted but a few centuries, while in Japan it made a deep impression that has lasted till the present day?

Some of the statues of Buddha in China and Japan have a curious wavy line in the folds of the monastic garment, and Grünwedel explains that when the Buddha posed for the statue ordered by Udayana, the artist was so blinded by his glory that Buddha caused himself to be mirrored in the water so that the statue might be finished. 'The artist produced this reflection and thus the wavy lines of the robe are accounted for.'

Gautama Buddha is believed to have had thirty-two superior and eighty inferior marks of beauty.¹ The thirtieth of the thirty-two superior marks is: 'Webbed fingers and toes.' In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, there is a fresco, discovered by Herr von Le Coq at Turfan, Chinese Turkestan, which represents the Buddha with webbed fingers, the webbed part being painted bright red. In the collection of Buddhist divinities owned by Mr. Okura, of Tokyo,² there is a life-sized statue of the Buddha, with wavy lines in the folds of the monastic garment draped in Grecian fashion and with the fingers and toes webbed.³ But although the draperies of the Japanese representations of the Buddha often indicate the influence of the Gandhāra school, the features are never Grecian; and (with the exception of the eyes) closely resemble the Indian Buddhas with the long-lobed ears and protuberance of the skull. The Buddha is never represented in Japan with Mongolian features, and rarely with the right shoulder and arm bare, but the breast is sometimes uncovered and may be marked with a *svastika*. (v. Pl. XVIII, fig. a.)

Other examples of the historic Buddha found in China and Japan, and but rarely in Tibet, are:

1. Buddha as a child taking possession of the world stands with the right arm pointing upward while the left points towards the earth. It represents Buddha immediately after his birth speaking his first words: 'Now for the last time am I incarnate.' (Pl. VI, fig. d.)

2. Buddha as an ascetic, sometimes standing, but generally seated with his right knee raised. He is represented very emaciated, and often with moustache and beard. (Pl. X, fig. c.)

¹ *Lakṣhaṇa*, v. Glossary, and v. Senart, *Essai sur la Légende du Bouddha*, p. 125.

² Destroyed by earthquake, September 1924.

³ The bronze image of Śākya-muni at the Yakushi-ji, near Utsunomiya, has the fingers webbed. v. Coomaraswamy, *Viśvakarmā*, Pl. XXI.



a. HEAD OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA



b. HEAD OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA



c. HEAD OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA,
GANDHĀRA SCHOOL



d. HEAD OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA

3. Buddha as entering into Nirvāṇa. He is represented lying on the right side with his right hand under his head. He is often accompanied by his two favourite disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. (Pl. XII, fig. a.)

The Buddhist formula is 'Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha' (Buddha—the Law—the Assembly). In China, Dharma and Saṅgha are personified and form a popular triad with the Buddha. They symbolize the generative power (Buddha), the productive power (Dharma), and the active power of creation (Saṅgha).

'Dharma' is represented with four arms. The normal ones are in *namahkara* (prayer) *mudrā*—the other two hands hold respectively a rosary and a book.

'Saṅgha' is represented with two arms—one resting on the knee and the other holding a lotus-flower.

When the Buddha is in the centre with Dharma at the right and Saṅgha at the left, the triad is called the Upāyikā, or Theistic Triad. When Dharma is in the centre with the Buddha at the right and Saṅgha at the left, it is called the Prajñikā or Atheistic Triad. The statue representing Dharma seems to combine Avalokiteśvara, god of Mercy, and Mañjuśrī, god of Wisdom, by its *mudrā* and symbols, for the *namahkara mudrā* and rosary belong to the former, and the book, the Prajñāpāramitā, to the latter.

The earliest triad is the Buddha with Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī: but one also finds the Buddha in a triad with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, as well as surrounded by the 'eight Bodhisattva'.

The earliest triad in China was that of the Buddha with Kuan-yin and Tai-shih-chih. It was also known in Japan; but the most popular triad is the Buddha accompanied by Monju and Fugen.

MAITREYA (the future fifth Mānushi Buddha)

(The Compassionate One).

(T.) *byams-pa* (pro. *cam-pa*) (kind, loving).

(M.) *mañjdari* (from the Sanskrit).

(C.) *Mi-lo-fo* (彌勒佛).

(J.) *Miroku butsu*.

Mudrā: *dharmacakra* (turning the Wheel of the Law), or
vara (charity), and
vitarka (argument).

Symbols: *kalāśa* (vase).
cakra (wheel).

Colour: yellow.

Emblem: *campa* (*nāga pushpa*)¹ (white flower with yellow centre).

Distinctive marks: *stūpa* in head-dress.
scarf around the waist tied at left side.

Dhyāni-Buddha: Amoghasiddha.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva: Viśvapāṇi.

Mānushi-Buddha: Maitreya.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva form of Maitreya belongs to the group of eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva.

Buddhist tradition divides the period between the death of Buddha and the manifestation of Maitreya in the actual universe into three divisions of time²: I. Period of 500 years, 'the turning of the Wheel of the first Law'. II. Period of 1,000

¹ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 113.

² Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 181. Usual

length of time given 5,000 years, in China 3,000.

years, period of deterioration of 'the law of images' (*Saddharma pratirūpaka*). III. Period of 3,000 years, 'the turning of the Wheel of the second Law', after which Maitreya will leave the Tushita heaven and come upon earth to 'establish the lost truths in all their purity'.

Śākya-muni is supposed to have visited Maitreya in the Tushita heaven when he appointed him to be his successor, and many Buddhist sages (*arhats*) are believed to have had communion with him, transporting themselves by supernatural means to the Tushita heaven to seek enlightenment on various religious points. The great Asaṅga, one thousand years after the birth of Buddha, ascended to the Tushita heaven, where he was initiated, by Maitreya, into the mystic doctrine of the Tantra, which he grafted on to the Mahāyāna school in the beginning of the sixth century. Maitreya is therefore looked upon, by certain sects, as the founder of the Tantra school.

Maitreya is the only Bodhisattva known to Hinayāna Buddhism, and statues of him are found in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, usually in company with Gautama Buddha. Although the cult of Maitreya was evolved before Aśoka's time, his worship was not at its height until the fifth century A. D., and there are many statues of him in the Gandhāra sculptures of that period. He is represented either seated as a Buddha with his long hair drawn up in a knot on his head forming the *uṣṇīṣa*, his hands in *dharmacakra mudrā*; or as a Bodhisattva, in which case he may be standing with his long hair hanging over his shoulders, while a part of it is caught up in a knot on his head. His hands form 'argument' and 'charity' *mudrā*.

In the Indian sculptures, as Bodhisattva, he is standing. His hair is arranged mitre-shaped. His hands form the usual *mudrā*, and in the left is a vase which is round, while in the sculptures of the Gandhāra school the vase is oval or pointed in shape.

Maitreya must have been known to Central Asia in the fifth century, for a temple at Turfan, according to inscriptions, was dedicated to him in 469 A. D.

In the bas-reliefs of the temple of Boro Boedoer, there are many representations of Maitreya which date from the ninth century. In Java he is also found in statuary form, as for instance in the temple of Tjandi Mendut, where he is figured seated, the legs pendent and the hands in the *dharmacakra mudrā*.

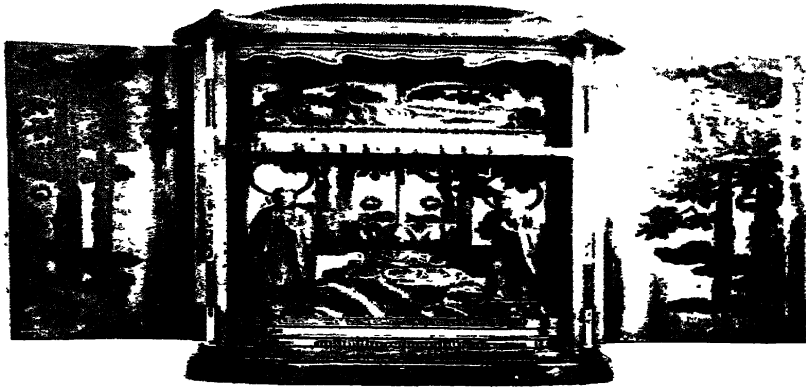
The early Mongolian images of Maitreya are also generally standing, and hold in their hands, forming 'argument' and 'charity' *mudrā*, the stems of flowers called 'campa', which, however, in the bronzes often resembles the lotus-flower. If painted, the campā is white with a yellow centre.

In Tibet, Maitreya is also represented both as Buddha and Bodhisattva. As Buddha, he has short curly hair, the *uṣṇīṣa*, *ūrṇā*, and long-lobed ears. He wears the monastic garment, with the right shoulder bare, and the hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*. He is seated, but the legs, instead of being locked, are pendent, and the feet may be unsupported. He is the only divinity in the Northern Buddhist pantheon represented seated in European fashion.¹ (Pl. xv, fig. b.)

¹ v. Pl. LXVI, and v. *Ars Asiatica*, vol. ii, pl. L. According to the inscription this is his form in

the Tushita heaven. v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes*, p. 122, fig. 97.

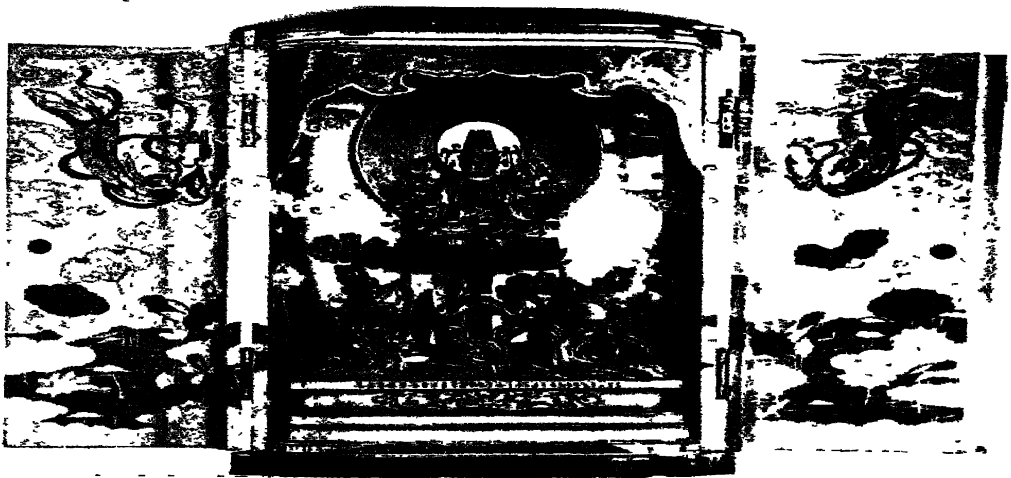
PLATE XII



a THE PARINIRVĀNA OF THE BUDDHA



b. MAÑJUŚRĪ



c. JUNTEI KWAN-NON

As Bodhisattva he may be also seated with the legs closely locked, which, according to M. Foucher,¹ was possibly his attitude in the Tushita heaven when teaching the Arhats; but as Bodhisattva he is usually seated in European fashion with each foot resting on a small lotus-flower *āsana*. (v. Pl. xv, fig. a.) He is represented as an Indian prince with all the Bodhisattva ornaments, and in the crown is generally a *stūpa*-shaped ornament which is his distinctive mark, but he may be without a crown and have the *stūpa* in his hair.² His hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā* and may be holding the stems of flowers supporting his two symbols, the vase and the wheel, on a level with his shoulders. (Pl. xxi, fig. d.) He may be seated on a throne supported by lions and have five Dhyāni Buddhas in the nimbus. (Pl. xiv.)

He may have an antelope skin over his left shoulder, in which case he is generally standing. His hands are in *vitarka* and *vara mudrā*, and he either carries the vase, or the two symbols—vase and wheel—are supported by lotus-flowers on a level with each shoulder. It is in this latter attitude that he is represented in the group of 'eight Bodhisattva'. He never carries the wheel, which is always supported by a lotus-flower.

When the *stūpa* is not well defined in the crown and he is standing with the hand in 'argument' and 'charity' *mudrā* holding the vase, with the antelope skin over the left shoulder, he resembles a form of Padmapāṇi³ and is extremely difficult to determine. Padmapāṇi's distinctive mark is a small image of Amitābha in his crown, but it may be missing.

Maitreya's two distinctive marks are a *stūpa* in the crown and a scarf wound around the waist and tied on the left side with the ends falling to the feet; but these may be missing. According to Grünwedel, if all the distinctive marks are missing, one may call this form 'Maitreya', as he is a more popular deity than Padmapāṇi.

The *stūpa* in the crown of Maitreya is thought to refer to the belief that a *stūpa* on Mount Kukkuṭapada near Bodhi-Gayā covers a spot where Kāśyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya leaves the Tushita heaven, he will go to the mountain, which will open by magic, and Kāśyapa will give him the garments of a Buddha.⁴

In the Gandhāra sculptures, Maitreya was represented much larger than his assistants. According to Hsüan Tsang, there is a statue of Maitreya at Dardu, north of the Punjab, in wood, which is one hundred feet high. It is believed to have been made by an artist whom the Lohan Madhyāntika caused, by magic, to mount three times to the Tushita heaven to contemplate the form of Maitreya before carving the statue.⁵

The Chinese claim that Maitreya was thirty feet high. According to Edkins, in the province of Che-kiang there is a stone image of Maitreya forty feet high, and still another seventy feet high. At Peking in the Yung-ho-kung, there is a wooden image still higher.

The bronze and stone images of Mi-lo-fo (Maitreya) of the sixth century A.D. are

¹ *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 113. (v. Pl. III, fig. d.)

² Pl. LX, fig. d.

³ v. *Padmapāṇi*.

⁴ v. *Kāśyapa*.

⁵ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. i, p. 134.

usually standing, with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, and the left in *vara mudrā*. In the cave temples of Yün-kang and Lung-men there are many examples of Maitreya seated European fashion, but the feet are crossed.

There is a form of Bodhisattva found in Japan as well as in China which is claimed by some to be Maitreya. The deity is figured seated, the right foot reposing on the left knee, the left hanging pendent. The elbow leans on the right knee and supports the head. He is bare to the waist, wears many ornaments, and always has a crown or turban on his head. There are several theories in regard to this form, but the author believes it to represent the Prince Siddhartha, for in the grotto temples of Yün-kang there is this same representation of the deity with the horse Kanṭhaka at his feet.¹

In Mahāyānist countries, Maitreya is found in a triad with Gautama Buddha and Avalokiteśvara; and also accompanied by the two goddesses, Kurukullā and Bhṛikuṭī.

In Japan, he is seated with legs locked, his hands in *dhyāna mudrā* holding a vase, and in this form he somewhat resembles the Tibetan Amitāyus.

MANLA (rank of Buddha)

(The Supreme Physician).

(S.) *Bhaiṣajyaguru* or *Piṇḍolā*.

(T.) *smān-bla* (pro. *Manla*) (supreme medicine).

(M.) *otoḥi* (prince of medicine).

(C.) *Yaō-shih-fo* (藥師佛).

(J.) *Yaku-shi* and *Binzuru sama*.

Mudrā: *vara* (charity).

dhyāna (meditation).

Symbols: *pātra*.

myrobalan (T. skyu-ru-ra, a golden fruit).²

Colour: blue.

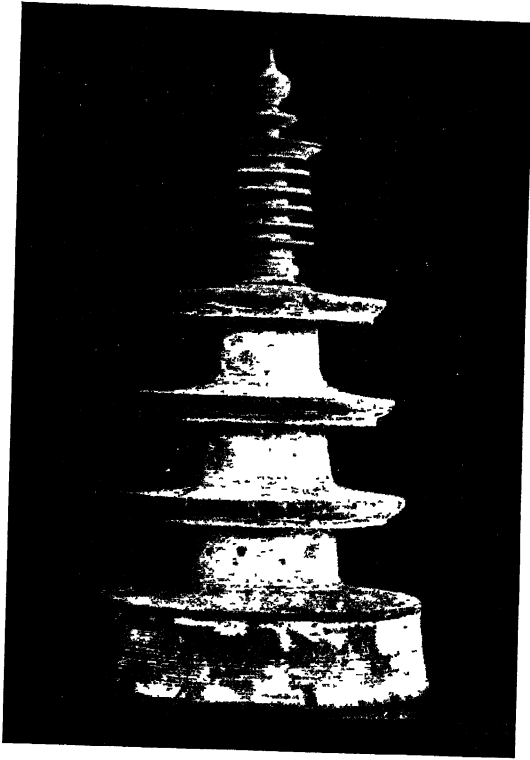
Manla, the Buddhist Aesculapius, is not only venerated in Tibet and Manchuria, but in China and Japan, where he is a most popular divinity. He is called the 'Healing Buddha', and is said to dispense spiritual medicine when properly worshipped. It is even believed in all these countries that an efficacious cure may be accomplished by merely touching the image.

In China he is worshipped under the name of 'Yaō-shih-fo' (*Bhaiṣajyaguru*), or Healing Teacher and Medical King. According to the *sūtras* consecrated to his glory which were translated into Chinese in the fourth century A.D.,³ Manla was a Buddha when Gautama was still a Bodhisattva, and ruled over Tsing-lieu-li, the Eastern world, the wonders of which rivalled those of Sukhāvātī, the Western Paradise.

¹ v. Kwan-non.

³ Pelliot, *Le Bhaiṣajyaguru*, B. E. F. E. O. 1903, tome iii, No. 1, p. 34-5.

² Fruit from a tree in Jambudvīpa; v. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 34.



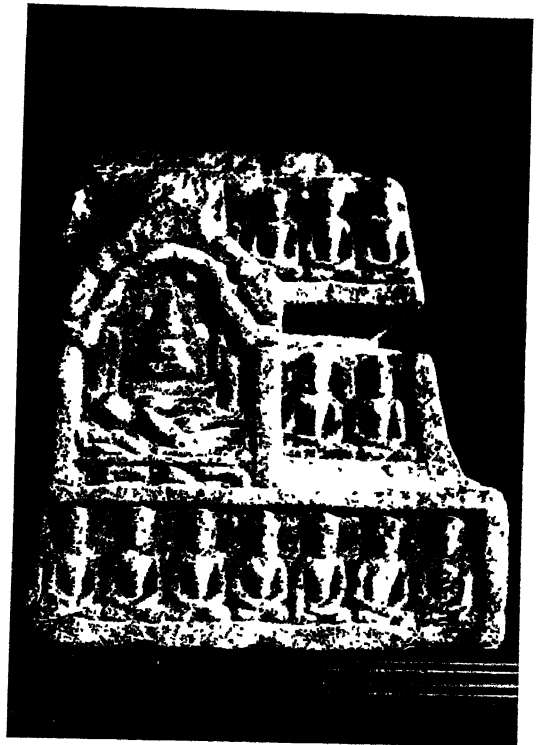
a. STŪPA CONTAINING PRAYERS



b. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



c. STŪPA



d. THE PARINIRVĀNA OF THE BUDDHA

His two attendants, the Bodhisattvas Ji-kwang-pien-chau and Yue-kwang-pien-chau,¹ were believed to help him in removing all suffering and to stand guard over the precious treasures of the True Law.

In Japan, as Yaku-shi, he is sometimes counted among the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, taking the place of either Vairocana or Akshobhya. He is also one of the thirteen Buddhas of the Shingon sect, and is believed to look after the soul on the seventh week after death (v. *Fudō*). Yaku-shi is always placed inside the temple, and may be found in a triad with Amitābha and Gautama Buddha.

There is a popular form of Yaku-shi in Japan called 'Binzuru Sama', which is worshipped by the common people as a veritable fetish. His head is usually covered by a hood, his hands with mittens, and there are often so many bibs around his neck, one on top of the other, that his face is scarcely visible. He is looked upon as Piṇḍola, one of the sixteen Japanese Rakan (Arhats), and is always placed outside of the temple or principal shrine, for the following reason: 'According to popular Japanese tradition he was expelled from the Sixteen for having violated the vow of chastity by remarking upon the beauty of a woman, and hence his usual situation outside the temple.' (Satow.) It is also believed that, at Manla's request, the power of curing all ills was conferred on him by Gautama Buddha. According to de Visser, Bhaiṣajyaguru was believed to have great power in causing rain to stop. In the ceremonies for stopping rain, the medicine Buddha is invoked in kneeling attitude three times, and the *Bhaiṣajyaguru dhāraṇī* is then recited.²

In Tibet, Manla may be represented either as a Buddha or as a Bodhisattva. As a Buddha, he has the *ūrṇā*, *uṣṇīṣa*, and short, curly hair. He wears the monastic robe, and is seated with the legs crossed. His left hand, lying in his lap in 'meditation' *mudrā*, usually holds the medicine-bowl, while the right hand, in 'charity' *mudrā*, holds either a branch with the fruit, or the fruit alone, of the myrobalan, a medicinal plant found in India and other tropical countries. The fruit resembles a lemon and is five-sided. (v. Pl. LX, fig. b.) Manla may hold in his left hand, in *dhyāna mudrā*, a bowl resembling a begging-bowl, in which case the medicinal fruit is usually held in the right hand in *vara mudrā*. In Japan, Yaku-shi also holds the medicine-bowl in the left hand, which, however, is in *vara mudrā* while the right is lifted in *abhaya mudrā*.

As Bodhisattva, he wears the five-leaved crown as well as all the usual ornaments, and is represented in paintings rather than in bronzes. In China, on the contrary, he is more usually found in bronzes; and while he wears the Bodhisattva crown, he is dressed like a Buddha and wears few ornaments. His symbols and *mudrā* are the same as his form as Buddha. If painted, he is blue.

In Japan, Yaku-shi is figured with the right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, while the left, in *vara mudrā*, holds the medicine-bowl, which, however, may be missing. When without the bowl, he resembles Shaka; but if the index and second fingers are bent as if to hold an object, one may conclude that it is Yaku-shi.

¹ Sun bodhisattva and moon bodhisattva (J.), Nikkō and Gwakkō bosatsu; v. Maitre, *L'Art du*

Yamato (Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne), p. 33.

² *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 33.

THE BUDDHAS

Images of Amida are sometimes called Yaku-shi, but Manla may never have the right hand in *vitarka mudrā*, which is the special dogmatic pose of Amida. In paintings, he may be figured holding a *shakujo* (staff), the left hand being in its usual position ; and sometimes he is seated on an elephant.

Yaku-shi is often accompanied in Japan by the Bodhisattvas, Nikkō and Gwakkō. Nikkō ('sun' *bosatsu*), whose mount is a horse, has his symbol, the sun, either in his crown or supported by a lotus ; in which case there is usually a three-legged crow in the red sun. Gwakkō ('moon' *bosatsu*), whose mount is a goose, may have his symbol, the moon, in the crown or on a lotus support, with a hare painted in the white moon. There may be twelve generals accompanying the triad, which represent the twelve months. In their head-dresses are figured : a phoenix, a dog, a boar, an ape, a goat, a horse, a hare, a dragon, a snake, a tiger, a rat, and a bull. In Korea, the twelve generals are represented on stone coffins of the fifteenth century which, according to Chavannes, are of Turco-Mongolian influence.¹

In the beginning of the eighth century appeared a group of seven medical Buddhas (Tathāgatas), which were very popular in Tibet² and were known to the Chinese. They are supposed to have created the seven medicinal plants and to preside over the seven worlds,³ of which the one farthest away was that of Bhaiṣajyaguru, who has remained the most popular Buddha in the group. They figure in Pander's *Panthéon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, where Manla is represented (No. 142) as a Buddha, holding a branch of the myrobalan on which is the fruit. If painted, three of the group are red and four yellow, while the colour of Manla is blue.

In paintings, the seven medical Buddhas are usually grouped around the Buddha Śākya-muni, who is looked upon as their chief ; but the central figure may be Bhaiṣajyaguru holding a branch of the myrobalan in his right hand in *varada mudrā*. In this case, he is not blue but takes on the golden colour of Śākya-muni (v. Pl. v) and is accompanied by Surya, the 'sun' bodhisattva, at his right, and Chandra, the 'moon' bodhisattva, at his left.

¹ *Le cycle turc des douze animaux*, T'oung Pao, Série 2, vol. 7.

² v. plate of *tsok-shin* (frontispiece), where all the seven Tathāgatas are represented with the

alarm staff (*khakkhara*).

³ v. Pelliot, Bhaiṣajyaguru, B. E. F. E. O., tome iii, No. 1, p. 38.



MAITREYA ON A LION THRONE

THE DHYĀNI-BUDDHAS

TABLE III

Dhyāni-Buddhas	{	I. Vairocana.	
		II. Akshobhya.	
		III. Ratnasambhava.	
		IV. Amitābha . .	{ I. Amitāyus.
		V. Amoghasiddhi.	{ II. O-mi-t'o-fo. III. Amida.

THE DHYĀNI-BUDDHAS (DHARMA-KĀYA)

(Buddhas of Meditation).

THE Dhyāni-Buddha is the first *kāya* or 'body' in the Buddhist Trinity (Tri-kāya), and dwells quiescent in the Arupadhātu heaven in abstract form of perfect purity. He is the 'body of Dharma' (Dharma-kāya), or the *inner enlightened* body of a Buddha. According to the Yoga doctrine, the law preached by the Nirmāṇa-kāya (Mānushi-Buddha) is exoteric. When he preaches the *esoteric* doctrine he is inspired by the Dharma-kāya—his Dhyāni-Buddha. The 'body of Dharma' is identified by certain Buddhist sects with Dharma, in the Triad, 'Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha', or the *Tri-ratna* (Three Jewels). Dharma is looked upon by them as the material essence, which, united with the intellectual essence (Buddha), produced Saṅgha, or the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, the active power of creation.

According to the system of Ādi-Buddha, the group of five Dhyāni-Buddhas (Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi) was evolved by the Ādi-Buddha. Each of the Dhyāni-Buddhas received, 'together with his existence, the virtues of that *jñāna* (wisdom) and *dhyāna* (meditation), to the exertion of which, by Ādi-Buddha, he owed his existence: and by similar exertion of both he produced a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva'.¹

Besides the five Dhyāni-Buddhas who evolved the five Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas, there is a sixth,² Vajrasattva, who is looked upon as 'president' of the group of five, and was adopted by certain sects as Ādi-Buddha. It is believed that the sixth sense of man emanated from him, while the other five organs of sense (sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch) proceeded from the five Dhyāni-Buddhas.

Likewise the five colours, white, blue, yellow, red, and green, are believed to emanate from the five Dhyāni-Buddhas as well as five of the six elements of which man is composed: earth, water, fire, air, and ether. The sixth element, variously called wisdom, the soul, or the mind (*manas*), is claimed to be a particle of the essence of Ādi-Buddha.

The five Dhyāni-Buddhas, with the direction where they are located, their corresponding elements, senses, colours, *vīja*,³ and Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, are :

<i>Dhyāni-Buddhas.</i>	<i>Location.</i>	<i>Element.</i>	<i>Colour.</i>	<i>Vīja mantra.</i>	<i>Dhyāni-Bodhisattva.</i>	<i>Buddha.</i>	<i>Vāhana.</i>
Vairocana	centre	sight ⁴	white	om	Samantabhadra	Krakucchanda	lion
Akshobhya	east	sound	blue	hūm	Vajrapāṇi	Kanakamuni	elephant
Ratnasambhava	south	smell	yellow	traḥ	Ratnapāṇi	Kāśyapa	horse
Amitābha	west	taste	red	hrih	Avalokiteśvara	Sākya-muni	goose or peacock
Amoghasiddhi	north	touch	green	aḥ	Viśvapāṇi	Maitreya	Garuḍa

¹ Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 28. The group of five Dhyāni-Buddhas was introduced into China by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in the eighth century. v. Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, p. 296.

² The group of five is the exoteric group. The

sixth belongs to the esoteric system.

³ Germ or seed, v. Glossary.

⁴ List according to the Nepalese school, also adopted by the Japanese; while other schools give: sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell.

The sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, with the corresponding direction where located, element, sense, and colour, is :

Vajrasattva—location, above the central point ; element, the divine mind (*manas*) ; sense, intuition, ; colour, white.¹

In Japan, Vajrasattva is sometimes represented with a rainbow aura, which possibly signifies the 'rainbow' body, or the accomplishment of Perfection. According to M. de la Vallée Poussin, Vajrasattva may be looked upon as 'a combination of the five elements'. As his colour is 'white', which potentially contains all the five colours, the 'rainbow' aura may be the esoteric sign of Vajrasattva as the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha.

The Chinese and Japanese Mahāyānists invoke the Dhyāni-Buddhas by a six-syllabled *mantra* composed of six Chinese characters, five of the sounds of which are : a-ba-ra-ka-ki. The sixth is either *aum* (औम) or *vaṃ* (वं), the *vīja-mantra* of the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, Vairocana. The sixth *vīja* is sometimes given as *un*, which, according to Lloyd, is a contraction of *aum*. The first five syllables are represented on one side of the Japanese *stūpas*, and represent the Garbha-kośa *maṇḍala*, while *vaṃ* on the opposite side stands for the mystic diagram of the Vajradhātu.²

The Dhyāni-Buddhas are generally seated in 'adamantine' pose of deepest meditation, the legs firmly locked with the soles of the feet turned upward ; and they wear the monastic garments with the right shoulder usually bare, and no ornaments. They have the sign of fore-knowledge (*ūrṇā*) on the forehead, and the lobes of the ears are long. The hair may be drawn up on the head in a knot, forming the traditional *uṣṇīṣha*, or be represented in short curls resembling sea-shells or beads. In the latter case, the skull has always a protuberance (also called *uṣṇīṣha*) from which, in the southern images of Buddha, usually issues a flame, three- or five-forked.

In Japan the Dhyāni-Buddhas are also represented in monastic garments, with the *ūrṇā* and long-lobed ears, but instead of the protuberance on the skull like the Tibetan Dhyāni-Buddhas, they may have the hair arranged in a high *uṣṇīṣha*. (v. Pl. v, fig. c.) In Japanese Buddhism there is no such term as 'dhyāni' Buddha. The five Celestial Buddhas or the *Gochi Nyorai* (the Five Lords) are usually : Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi ; but the list varies. One may find : Yakushi (Bhaiṣajyaguru), Taḥo (Prabhūtaratna), Vairocana, Akshobhya, and either Amoghasiddhi or Śākya-muni. Yakushi is sometimes placed second and Jizo third, in which case Vairocana comes first. In the Tibetan book *Padma-t'an-yig*,³ Akshobhya is omitted in the list of five Dhyāni-Buddhas, and Vajrasattva takes his place. This is of special interest, for in the esoteric doctrine Vajrasattva and Akshobhya are identified. Vairocana in the centre is blue in colour, which is unusual. The four Celestial Buddhas, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi, are believed by the Shingon sect to be merely manifestations of Vairocana.⁴

¹ v. Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, pp. 296-7.

² *The Creed of Half Japan*, p. 240.

³ v. Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes*, p. 101.

⁴ The Amida sects claim that Vairocana and the other three Dhyāni-Buddhas may be emanations or manifestations of Amitābha, but they do not worship them.

Each Dhyāni-Buddha possesses a *śakti*, who, if painted, takes his special colour but in a paler tonality. When represented with his *śakti*, the Dhyāni-Buddha is seated in the *yab-yum* attitude and is dressed like an Indian prince with the thirteen Bodhisattva ornaments. The Dhyāni-Buddhas are always crowned when holding the *śakti*, and hence are called by the Tibetans the 'crowned Buddhas'. Vajrasattva alone is always crowned, with or without his female energy. Schlagintweit, however, in his Atlas, gives the reproduction of a temple drawing where Vajrasattva is represented as a Buddha, uncrowned and holding his *śakti*, but this is practically unique.

The heads of the Dhyāni-Buddhas are often encircled by a nimbus, which, in the most ancient form, was round; but later examples, especially in China and Japan, were often pointed at the top in the shape of a lotus petal or of the leaf of the Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha attained Supreme Knowledge. The five Dhyāni-Buddhas are represented in India in the aura of a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva when preaching the Law.¹ In the *Mahāvastu* it is written that when a Bodhisattva is about to preach the Law 'five thrones appear'. In Tibet the five Dhyāni-Buddhas surrounding the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva are more often found in paintings than in statues, but in Japan they are frequently found in both. (Pl. xiv.) In China there may be only three Dhyāni-Buddhas in the aura of a Bodhisattva. (v. Pl. xxi, fig. b.)

In Nepal the Dhyāni-Buddhas are represented in niches around the base of the *caitya*.² Amoghasiddhi is enshrined in the North; Ratnasambhava in the South; Akshobhya in the East; Amitābha in the West. Vairocana is believed to be in the interior, but if he is represented outside, his statue, according to Hodgson, is at the right of Akshobhya. The sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, Vajrasattva, is never represented in statue form on the *caitya*.

In Java, at Boro Boedoe, the four Dhyāni-Buddhas are figured like the above with the exception of Vairocana, who is represented on the top terrace in cupolas which are pierced; while a statue of Vajrasattva was found immured in a closed cupola above the dome, proving that his worship was done in secret as in Nepal.

Each Dhyāni-Buddha has his own colour, mount (*vāhana*), *śakti*, and mystic pose of the hands, taken from the *mudrā* invented by the Gandhāra and Indian schools to symbolize certain events in the life of Gautama Buddha, whose ethereal form is Amitābha.

Of the various groups of Dhyāni-Buddhas, the five Celestial Jinās are alone of interest to the student of iconography, being the Buddhas of the actual universe—the fourth world.

¹ v. illustration of Simhanāda-Lokeśvara, A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, Partie II, p. 88.

² v. Glossary.

VAIROCANA¹ (First Dhyāni-Buddha)

(Buddha Supreme and Eternal).

(T.) *rnam-par-snañ-mdsad* or *rnam-snañ* (maker of brilliant light).(M.) *masi geigülün jogaqǎi* (maker of perfect light).(C.) *P'ā-lu-chē-na* (毗盧遮那).(J.) *Dai-nichi Nyorai* (Great Sun) or *Roshana*.

As Ādi-Buddha.

Mystic *mudrā* of the Six Elements² (earth, water, fire, air, ether, and wisdom).

As Dhyāni-Buddha.

Mudrā : *dharmacakra* (teaching).Symbol : *cakra* (wheel).

Colour : white.

Vāhana : lion.

Śakti : Vajradhātvisvarī (white).

Support : blue lotus.

Element : ether.

Dhyāni-Buddha : Vairocana.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Samantabhadra.

Manushi-Buddha : Krakucchanda.

When the system of Ādi-Buddha appeared in Nepal, certain Northern Buddhist sects set up Vairocana as Ādi-Buddha; but, prior to this, he was worshipped as the first of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas of the actual universe, and is best known under that form.

The Tibetan Mahāyānists do not associate Vairocana³ with the founding of the Yoga system, but the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists of the Yogācārya⁴ school claim that he transmitted the doctrine directly to the Hindu sage Vajrasattva, who, it is believed, lived in an Iron Tower in Southern India. They further claim that Nāgārjuna visited Vajrasattva in his Iron Tower⁵ and learned from him the mystic doctrine of the Maṇḍala of the Two Parts⁶ (Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu), which he transmitted to Nāgabodhi, his disciple. Nāgabodhi, in his turn, taught the doctrine to Vajrabodhi, who transmitted it to Amoghavajra.

In the year A. D. 720, Vajrabodhi, accompanied by his disciple, Amoghavajra, introduced the Yoga system into China. After his death, Amoghavajra continued the propagation of the Yoga doctrine by transmitting it to the Chinese scholar Hui-kuo, who spread it to all the provinces of China.

Toward the end of eighth century, the Japanese sage Kukai (Kōbō Daishi) went to China to study the doctrine of the Yogācārya school with Hui-kuo (Jap. Kei-kwa), and after being initiated into the most secret mysteries of the system, carried it into Japan and founded the Shingon sect.

In India the Yogācārya school was grafted on to the Mahāyāna in the middle of the fourth century by Asaṅga,⁷ who claimed to be inspired by Maitreya from the

¹ Lit., the Illuminator. Pro. Vairochana.

² I use this term as I have been unable to find a Sanskrit name for this *mudrā*. In Japanese it is called *Chi-ken* (wisdom-fist).

³ They look upon Samantabhadra as the founder of the Yoga doctrine.

⁴ In Japan Hossō, Tendai, Kegon, and Shingon sects were founded on the Yoga doctrine.

⁵ v. *Nāgārjuna*.

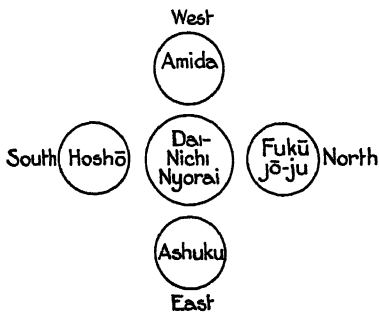
⁶ The secret doctrine of the *Two Parts* forms the body and substance of the Yoga system (v. Glossary, *Vajradhātu*).

⁷ Peri gives fourth century. v. *Disciples et Commentateurs de Vasubandhu*, B. E. F. E. O. 377-390. Lloyd places Asaṅga about A. D. 300. Prof. Takakusu A. D. 445, and Grünwedel A. D. 550, which is the usual date given.

Tushita heaven. The doctrine was purely esoteric, and 'taught that by means of mystic formularies (*tantra*) or litanies (*dhāraṇā*) or spells (*mantra*), the reciting of which should be accompanied by music and certain distortions of the fingers (*mudrā*), a state of mental fixity might be reached, characterized by there being neither thought nor annihilation of thoughts, and consisting of sixfold bodily and mental happiness (*yogi*), from which would result endowment with supernatural miracle-working power.'

The fundamental principle of the Yoga¹ system is the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit, and in Japan Vairocana is looked upon as the highest vehicle of the mystic Union, which is called by the Japanese the 'action of the Dai-nichi Nyorai'. The *mudrā* of Vairocana indicate the mystic Union. As Dhyāni-Buddha he has the *dharmacakra mudrā* (v. Glossary), which the Tibetans call *Thabdong-shesrab*, or the Union of Wisdom with Matter. As Ādi-Buddha he has the *mudrā* of the Six Elements, which also indicates the same principle, and, although rare in Tibet,² is often found in Japan. The index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right. The six fingers represent the Six Elements which, when united, produce the 'sixfold bodily and mental happiness'. The five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed: earth (little finger), water (ring finger), fire (middle finger), air (index), and ether (thumb). The index finger of the left hand represents the flame-symbol of Ādi-Buddha, for the sixth element, the mind (*manas*), is a particle of his essence.

The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond with the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu or the Maṇḍala³ of the Two Parts. The Vajradhātu, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world (v. *Vajradhātu*). The Garbhadhātu, indicated by the five fingers, is the matrix element, corresponding to the material world.



The Shingon sect represents the 'Two Parts' of the Yoga Maṇḍala by two diagrams. In the Vajradhātu diagram, Vairocana is the sun—the centre of a planetary system around which revolve his manifestations, the four Dhyāni-Buddhas, as planets.⁴ It is believed that 'in him as in a mighty sun all things visible and invisible have their consummation and absorption'. He is, in fact, the 'one Truth surrounded by the four constituent elements'.

Vairocana is represented in the centre of the diagram. He is seated, dressed like a Bodhisattva, with a crown and the traditional ornaments, and his hands are in the *mudrā* of the Six Elements (see above). It is believed that from him proceeded

¹ Derived from the Sanskrit root *yuj*, or 'union'.

² v. Tibetan statuette, Bacot collection, Musée Guimet, Paris, No. 23. Japanese examples, v. Pl. xv, fig. c, and Pl. lxii, fig. d.

³ Mystic circle. v. Pl. xvi and Bunyiu Nanjio,

A Short History of the Twelve Buddhist Sects; A. Lloyd, *Developments of Japanese Buddhism*.

⁴ Dai-nichi Nyorai (Vairocana), Ashuku (Akshobhya), Hoshō (Ratnasambhava), Amida (Amitābha), Fukū-jō-ju (Amoghasiddha).



a. MAITREYA (AS BODHISATTVA)



b MAITREYA (AS BUDDHA)



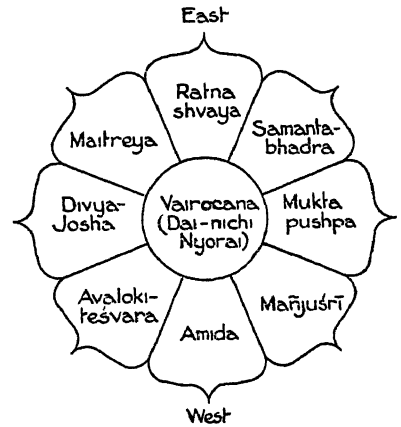
c. DAI-NICHI NYORAI



d. AMITĀYUS

the element ether (*ākāśa*), the organ of sight and all colours. The colour of Vairocana is white.

In the centre of the diagram of the Garbhadhātu¹ is an eight-leaved lotus-flower which represents the 'heart' (*hridaya*) of beings. It is the solar matrix, 'the mysterious sanctuary to which the sun returns each night to be re-born' (v. Glossary, *Vajradhātu*). Vairocana is represented in the centre, and is looked upon as the source of all organic life—the 'heart' of the lotus. (According to Hodgson,² his symbol, the wheel, may be represented by the round top of the seed-vessel of the lotus, in the centre of which is the Nepalese *yin-yang*³ around which are eight seed-cells.) The eight petals around the 'heart' of the lotus represent the four Dhyāni-Bodhisattva who have created the four worlds (the fifth being yet to come), and their respective four Dhyāni-Buddhas, or spiritual fathers. Around the eight-leaved lotus enclosure are twelve other enclosures.



In the centre of the Sarvajña enclosure, immediately above the eight-leaved lotus enclosure, is a triangle resting on its base, which is the symbol of Ādi-Dharma, or Matter (v. *trikona*, *tri-rutna*, and v. Pl. xvi).

Vairocana, seated in the heart of the lotus of the Garbhadhātu, is represented like a Bodhisattva, with a crown and many ornaments. He is not, in the Maṇḍala, a simple Dhyāni-Buddha, but the president of the Dhyāni-Buddhas—almost an Ādi-Buddha (in which case he would also be represented like a Bodhisattva). His hands are in his lap in *dhyāna mudrā*, which, however, differs from the usual *mudrā* in that the tips of the thumbs touch each other.

The fundamental principle of the Yoga doctrine, the Union of the Spiritual with the Material, is represented in Nepal and Tibet by the divinity and his *śakti* (female energy) in the attitude called '*yab-yum*'. The *yab* is the divinity representing the Vajradhātu, while the *yum* (the *śakti*) represents the Garbhadhātu. But this crude representation of the union of Spirit and Matter, while it found favour in Mongolia, highly displeased the more refined sense of the Chinese and Japanese, and was never adopted in either country.⁴ They considered the mystic *mudrā* of the Six Elements as sufficiently representing the principle on which the Yoga school was founded, and one finds many beautiful examples of Dai-nichi Nyorai in Japan, expressing this principle with great dignity and much religious feeling.

The Shingon sect associates Vairocana with its funeral ceremonies. Lloyd says in his *Shinran*: 'When, prior to its removal to the Temple, the corpse has been placed before a temporary altar in the house, on which stand the thirteen Buddhas'⁵

¹ v. Pl. xvi.

² Notice on Buddhist symbols, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xviii, Part II.

³ v. Glossary.

⁴ One finds examples in the Lamaist temple in Peking, but carefully covered.

⁵ Illustration, Pl. xvii.

whom the Shingon reverence, the priest commences the service with lustrations. . . . Then comes an invocation of the Being who represents to the Shingon the 'sum total of the Universe', who manifests himself to man through his five personified attributes: earth, fire, water, air, and ether.

The five Dhyāni-Buddhas are next invoked: Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi, after which, Amitābha, as 'conductor of souls', accompanied by Kwannon and Seishi (Mahāsthāma-prāpta), is invoked 'to come and meet the soul in its passage from this world to the next'. Then follows an invocation of Jizō (Kshitigarbha), also 'conductor of souls', and of Fudō (Acala), 'champion of the righteous'. When all these gods have been invoked, 'the celebrant at last raises his heart to the invocation of Vairocana, *the great Buddha*'.

This ceremony shows that the Shingon sect worships Vairocana in his three forms: as Buddha Supreme,¹ Dhyāni-Buddha, and in his manifestation of Fudō, the form which he takes to combat Evil, the flames about him symbolizing the destruction of Evil.

The 'thirteen Buddhas' invoked in the ceremony are Vairocana, his eleven disciples, and his manifestation, *Fudō*, who are looked upon as 'Guardians of the spirits of the dead'. (v. *Fudō*.) The Kegon sect worships a triad of Vairocana with Fugen and Monju (Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī).

In Nepal and Tibet the statues of Vairocana, either as Ādi-Buddha or Dhyāni-Buddha, are extremely rare, but in Japan he is frequently found in statues and paintings. As Ādi-Buddha he is always represented in Tibet as a Bodhisattva and is seated with his legs locked, his hands forming the mystic *mudrā* of the Six Elements; or he may be represented holding his special symbol, the wheel, balanced in his hands in *dhyāna mudrā*.

In Pander's *Pantheon*, illustration No. 76, there is the representation of a deity with *four heads*, wearing a Bodhisattva crown, but called by Pander a 'Dhyāni-Buddha'. He is seated, with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*, *balancing a wheel* surrounded by flames. He is called *kun-rigs*, which means 'omniscient', one of the qualities of Vairocana, and may possibly be his Tibetan form as Ādi-Buddha.

As Dhyāni-Buddha he is represented in Tibet with the monastic garments and short curly hair, the *ushnīsha*, *ūrṇā*, and long-lobed ears. His hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*, and his legs are closely locked. He is sometimes in company with his *śakti*, in which case he is dressed like a Bodhisattva and holds a wheel and a bell. The *śakti* encircles his body with her legs, and holds a skull-cup and a knife or a wheel. If painted, Vairocana is white, and when with his *śakti* is seated on a blue lotus.

The goddess Ushnīshavijayā holds in her hands, lying in her lap in *dhyāna mudrā*, a vase which is believed to contain a particle of the essence of Vairocana—thus symbolizing the Spiritual enveloped by the Material—or the 'Two Parts', Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu.

The goddess Māricī has a small image of Vairocana in her head-dress.

¹ The Nepalese system of Ādi-Buddha was not adopted in Japan. There is no Japanese term for

'Ādi-Buddha', but Vairocana is nevertheless looked upon as the 'origin of all, even of the universe'.



MAṆḌALA (CENTRAL ENCLOSURE OF THE GARBHA-DHĀTU)

In Japan, Vairocana (Dai-nichi Nyorai) is represented with the high head-dress of the Japanese Bodhisattva, but is, however, dressed in the monastic garments of the Japanese Buddhas, with the right shoulder bare, and wears no ornaments. His hands form the mystic *mudrā* of the Six Elements (Pl. II, fig. *a*, and Pl. LXII, fig. *d*).

Myō-ken (Polar Star)¹ is worshipped in Japan under the form of Dai-nichi Nyorai, who, if painted, is represented white, clothed in white and seated on a white lotus. He wears an ornate crown, and his hands are in *dhyāna mudrā* with the tips of the thumbs touching.

FUDŌ-MYŌ-Ō

Form of Dai-nichi Nyorai (Vairocana).

(C.) *Pu-tung-fo* (不動佛).

Symbols: sword and lasso.

(S.) *Acala* (Immovable Buddha).

Colour: black.

Distinctive mark: glory of flames.

Fudō, champion of the Righteous, is chief of the five Devas called *myō-ō* (*mahā deva*), and is believed in Japan to be a manifestation of the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana, for the purpose of combating Evil. He is sometimes called Vidyā Raja, or 'King of Light' ('light' being used in the sense of mystic knowledge), and is often accompanied by two boys called Kimbara and Chetaka. His *samaya* or symbol form, called *Kurikara Fudō*, is that of a black dragon coiled around a sword.²

His appearance is fierce and angry. The sword in his right hand is to smite the guilty and the lasso in his left to catch and bind the wicked. He may, however, have four arms and be standing on a dragon. Behind him is a glory of flames, symbolizing the destruction of Evil (v. Pl. LIII, fig. *d*).

Fudō figures in the group of thirteen Buddhas (illustration, Pl. XVII) used in the funereal ceremonies of the Shingon sect, and is believed to take charge of the soul after death. The central Buddha at the top of the group is Dai-nichi Nyorai (Vairocana), while the figure surrounded by flames at the left of the lowest row is Fudō, who is believed to meet the soul and look after it for the first week.

Śākya-muni	for the 2nd week,	Yakushi (Bhaishajyaguru) ³ for the 7th week,
Monju (Mañjuśrī)	„ „ 3rd „	Kwannon (Avalokiteśvara) for 100 days,
Fugen (Samantabhadra)	„ „ 4th „	Seishi (Mahāsthāma-prāpta) „ 1 year,
Jizō (Kshitigarbha)	„ „ 5th „	Amida (Amitābha) „ 3 years,
Miroku (Maitreya)	„ „ 6th „	Ashuku (Akshobhya) „ 7 years.

¹ 'The Polar Star was a type of the Eternal because apparently it never changed with time. It was the earliest type of Supreme Intelligence . . . which was unerring, just and true . . . a point within the circle from which you could not err.' Churchward, *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*. It was called the 'Eye upon the moun-

tain', the radiating centre of light surmounting the triangle. (v. *trikona*.)

² de Vissier, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 204. v. B. L. Suzuki, *The Immovable Fudō*, The Eastern Buddhist, 1922, p. 129.

³ v. *Manla* (Chin. Yo-shi Fo), or the *Healing Buddha*, and Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 235.

Kokūzō (Ākāśagarbha) and Vairocana remain its guardians for ever.¹

Fudō is often represented in mystic diagrams, and plays an especially important role in the third enclosure of the Garbha-kośa maṇḍala.

AKSHOBHYA (second Dhyāni-Buddha)

(The Immovable).²

(T.) *mi-bśkyod-pa* (pro. *mijod-pa*) or *mi-hlhrugs-pa*
(pro. *mintug-pa* (unagitated).

(M.) *ūlā kudelūkcī* (without movement).

(C.) *A-ch'u* (阿閼).

(J.) *Ashuku*.

Mudrā : *bhūmisparśa* (witness).

Symbol : *vajra* (thunderbolt).

Colour : blue.

Vāhana : elephant.

Śakti : Locanā (blue).

Element : air.

Dhyāni-Buddha : Akshobhya.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Vajrapāṇi.

Mānushi-Buddha : Kanaka-muni.

Akshobhya was first mentioned in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* in the beginning of the third century, and later in the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka*, as well as in the smaller *Sukhāvati vyūha*, where his glorious paradise in the East called Abhiriti is described. Abhiriti was never so popular, however, as the Western paradise of Amitābha.

It has been claimed by certain Buddhist sects that the Bodhisattva of Akshobhya is Vajrasattva, while others look upon Vajradhara as his spiritual son ; but, according to the system of five Dhyāni-Buddhas, his Dhyāni-Bodhisattva is Vajrapāṇi.

His worship extended to China and Japan, but Akshobhya was never popular to the same extent as Vairocana or Amitābha. He is represented less frequently in statues than in religious paintings and *maṇḍala*, where he is found in company with the other Dhyāni-Buddhas.

Akshobhya is represented seated, like all the Dhyāni-Buddhas, with the legs locked and both feet apparent. There are often wheels marked on the soles of his feet, or a protuberance like a button, resembling the *ūrṇā* on the forehead. His left hand lies on his lap in 'meditation' *mudrā*. His right touches the earth with the tips of the outstretched fingers, the palm turned inward. This is called the *bhūmisparśa* or 'witness' *mudrā*, and is the same pose of the hands that the Gandhāra school gave to Gautama Buddha, when representing his invoking the Earth to bear witness that he had resisted the temptation of the God of Evil, Māra (v. Pl. i).

The Hīnayāna Buddhists in Ceylon, Java, Burma, and Siam worship Gautama Buddha under this form, while those of the Mahāyāna school look upon it as Akshobhya ; for, with but rare exceptions, the historic Buddha is only appealed to by the Northern Buddhists in his ethereal form of Amitābha.

Akshobhya may also take in Tibet another form of Gautama Buddha called 'Vajrāsana' (diamond throne).³ The attitude is the same as the above, but before him on the lotus throne lies a *vajra*, or it may be balanced in the palm of the left hand lying in 'meditation' *mudrā* on his lap.

¹ Lloyd, *Creed of Half Japan*, p. 65.

² Or 'the undisturbed'.

³ v. *Gautama Buddha* and Pl. II, fig. d.



THE THIRTEEN SHIN-GON BUDDHAS

In Petersburg, according to Oldenburg, there is a unique representation of Akshobhya with the *vajra* in the hand which holds the folds of his monastic garment on the left shoulder.

A small image of Akshobhya is often in the head-dress of Mañjuśrī, Yamāntaka, Tārā, and Prajñāpāramitā.

In his *yab-yum* form he is crowned and presses his *śakti* to his breast, with arms crossed at her back, holding the *vajra* and bell. She holds the *kapāla* (skull-cup) and *vajra*.

RATNASAMBHAVA¹ (Third Dhyāni-Buddha)

(Buddha of Precious Birth).

(T.) *rin-byun* (source of the treasure).

(M.) *erdeni-in oron* (the place of the jewel).

(C.) *Pao-shêng-fo* (寶生佛).

(J.) *Hōshō*.

Mudrā : *vara* (charity).

Symbol : *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel).

Colour : yellow.

Vāhana : horse.

Śakti : Māmaki.

Support : yellow lotus.

Element : fire.

Dhyāni-Buddha : Ratnasambhava.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Ratnapāṇi.

Mānushi-Buddha : Kāśyapa.

Ratnasambhava, the third Dhyāni-Buddha, seems to have been the least popular of all the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. His statues are extremely rare, but one may come across him in paintings.

He is represented seated, with his legs closely locked. His left hand, lying on his lap, holds the *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel), and his right is in *vara* (charity) *mudrā*—the arm is stretched downwards, the hand having all the fingers extended, and the palm is turned outwards. He has the *ushnāsha*, *ūrṇā*, and long-lobed ears.

There may be a small image of Ratnasambhava in the head-dress of Jambala.

AMITĀBHA (Fourth Dhyāni-Buddha)

(Buddha of Infinite Light).

(T.) *hod-dpag-med* (infinite light).

(M.) *čaghlası ūgei gereltü* (he who is eternally brilliant).

(C.) *O-mi-t'o* (阿弥陀).

(J.) *Amida*.

Mudrā : *dhyāna* (meditation).

Symbol : *pātra* (begging-bowl).

Vāhana : peacock.

Colour : red.

Śakti : Pāṇḍarā (rose).

Element : water.

Dhyāni-Buddha : Amitābha.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Avalokiteśvara.

Mānushi-Buddha : Śākya-muni.

'Crowned' form of Amitābha, without *śakti* :
Amitāyus.

Amitābha is the fourth Dhyāni-Buddha and the ethereal form of Śākya-muni. It is claimed by the Northern Buddhists that Gautama Buddha, before entering into

¹ Ratnasambhava, 'the source of precious (or holy) things'.

Nirvāṇa, transmitted to Śāriputra (one of his favourite disciples) the dogma of the Western Paradise (Sukhāvātī) over which presides Amitābha, Buddha of Boundless Light, immortal, and bestowing immortality on the people of his paradise.

Amitābha is only known in Northern Buddhism. His name does not appear in the canons of the Hīnayāna school, and his worship is unknown in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Neither Fa-Hsien in the account of his travels in India (399–414) nor Hsüan-tsang (629–645) mention him, although they refer to Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

The worship, nevertheless, of Amitābha may be traced as far back as the teacher of Nāgārjuna, Saraha,¹ while later, in the fourth century, Vasubandhu put his faith in Amitābha and his Western Paradise. Amitābha is not, however, a Buddhist deity evolved from Indian sources, for, according to Sir Charles Eliot, he has 'no clear antecedents in India'.

From what country, then, was his worship introduced into India? In the beginning of our era there must have existed, in some part of Asia, an active Amitābha cult, for as early as the second century, the fundamental *sūtra* of the Amitābha doctrine² was translated into Chinese by a native of Central Asia. May it be inferred from this that the birthplace of the Amitābha cult, which was brought into China at the same time as that of the Dhyāni-Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, was north of the Himalayas? Paul Pelliot³ admits that early Buddhism in India was subjected to Iranian influences. Sir Charles Eliot calls our attention to the fact that in the Avesta,⁴ where four paradises are described, the highest is called the 'Land of Endless Light', and that all the chief features of the Western Paradise of Amitābha of Infinite Light are to be found in Zoroastrian writings.

The description of the joys and wonders of Sukhāvātī, the Western Paradise of Amitābha, varies according to the imagination of the author. In the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka* (Lotus of the Good Law) it is written that women are debarred from Amitābha's paradise, but by acts of merit may attain masculinity in the next world, and thus be eligible to the joys of Sukhāvātī. The thirty-fifth vow of Amitābha, according to the *Aparimitāyus-sūtra*, is as follows: 'If I become Buddha, all women in innumerable other Buddhist countries shall hear my name and be filled with joy and gladness and dislike their womanhood, desiring enlightenment. If they again resume the feminine form after death and remain unsaved, I will not receive Buddhahood.' One finds, however, in other Buddhist writings, reference to the inmates of the Western Paradise as sexless.

The usual representation of Amitābha is seated with his legs closely locked. His hands lie on his lap, in *dhyāna* (meditation) *mudrā*, and he has the *uṣṇīṣa* and *ūrṇā* and long-lobed ears (v. Pl. xviii, fig. a).

He is sometimes represented in Tibet with his *śakti* held in the *yab-yum* attitude, but his manifestations in China and Japan are never with the female energy. In this form he wears a crown and is dressed like a Bodhisattva. His arms are crossed

¹ v. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 29.

² Greater *Sukhāvātī vyākha*.

³ *Traité Manichéen*, p. 386.

⁴ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 451.

behind her back, and hold the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, while the *śakti* holds the skull and either the *grigug* (chopper) or wheel.

A small image of Amitābha is in the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara, or may be held above the ten heads by two of his arms. He may also be in the head-dress of the goddess Kurukullā.

Besides being Buddha of Boundless Light, Amitābha is Buddha of Boundless Life,¹ in his form of Amitāyus, and of Boundless Compassion in his Bodhisattva form of Avalokiteśvara, and is found in a triad with Mahāsthāma-prāpta and Avalokiteśvara.

AMITĀYUS (APARIMITĀYUS)

(Buddha of Eternal Life).

(T.) *ts'e-dpag-med* (eternal life).

(M.) *ayusi* or *ṣaḅhāsi ugei nasutu* (having eternal life).

(C.) *Ch'ang shēng-fo* (長生佛).

Mudrā : *dhyāna* (meditation).

Symbol : *tsé-bum* (ambrosia vase).

Colour : bright red.

Amitāyus (Dispenser of Long Life) is the name given to Amitābha in his character of bestower of longevity, and the Tibetans, unlike the Chinese and Japanese, never confuse the two forms.

The Lamaist ceremony for 'Obtaining Long Life' is a curious mixture of Buddhism and demon-worship, and takes place in Tibet at stated intervals with much pomp. According to Waddell, 'in the preliminary worship, the pills are made from buttered dough and the ambrosia (*amṛita*) is brewed from spirit or beer and offered in a skull bowl to the great image of Amitāyus'. The Lama then places a *vajra* on the ambrosia vase, which the image of Amitāyus holds in its lap, and applies a cord, which is attached to the *vajra*, to his own heart. 'Thus, through the string, as by a telegraph wire, passes the divine spirit, and the Lama must mentally conceive that the heart is in actual communion with that of the god Amitāyus.'²

The wine in the *tsé-bum*, or ambrosia vase, is then consecrated, and the people partake of it, as well as of the sacred pills, with the firm conviction that their lives will be prolonged through their faith in Amitāyus. He is, therefore, a very popular divinity, and one sees many of his images and paintings in Tibet.

Amitāyus may be termed either a 'crowned Buddha' or a Bodhisattva, and is therefore richly clad and wears the thirteen ornaments. His hair is painted blue and falls on either side to his elbows, or may be curiously coiled. He is seated³ like a Buddha, and his hands lie on his lap in *dhyāna* (meditation) *mudrā*, holding the ambrosia vase, his special emblem. The vase is richly decorated, and from the cover fall four strings of beads, which represent the sacred pills quoted above; and from this cover often sprouts a tiny *asoka*-tree (tree of Consolation, v. *Vajradhātu*). (v. Pl. III, fig. a; Pl. xv, fig. d; Pl. xviii, figs. c and d; Pl. xix, fig. b.)

Amitāyus never holds a *śakti*, or female energy, nor has he a consort.

¹ v. Pl. xv, fig. d.

² Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 445.

³ Statues of Amitāyus standing are very rare.

He is often found in a triad between Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi. The presence of Vajrapāṇi in company with Amitāyus might be accounted for by the fact that the Buddhas put him in charge of the Water of Life, which they had procured by churning the ocean with the mountain Sumeru.¹

In China and Japan Amitāyus is worshipped under the usual form of Amitābha.

O-MI-T'O-FO

(Chinese Buddha of Boundless Light).

The first Amitābha *sūtra*, supposed to have been translated by the Parthian, An Shih-kao,² was brought into China about the middle of the second century; but the doctrine of Amitābha made no headway until the fourth century A. D., when an exoteric sect called the 'Lotus School' (Lien Tsung), more commonly called the 'Pure Land School', was founded. In the next century an Amitābha *sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva; and Amidaism then began to spread so rapidly that the Confucianists took alarm—the result of which was a heated controversy between the *literati* of both sides as to the relative merits of Buddhism and Confucianism.

The Chinese had never been able to understand the Indian conception of Nirvāṇa. Ancestor worship was a universal custom in China. It found its way even into the Buddhist monasteries,³ where ancestral tablets were set up dedicated to members of the community who had died in sanctity.

The great teachers, philosophers, moralists, were themselves ancestor worshippers, and while they would not accept the Indian doctrine of complete annihilation after death, they as greatly disapproved of the doctrine of immortality in Amitābha's paradise. They avoided as much as possible discussing the problem of life after death, preferring to teach men how to live. They claimed that an act of merit with hope of ultimate recompense was no real act of merit. The Northern Buddhist reply was that no man would till his field without ultimate hope of harvest.

The common people understood nothing of the controversy. They were Taoists, and Taoism, indigenous to China, promised life hereafter in glowing colours. The step from Taoism to Amidaism was easy enough, with its promise of paradise, and faith in O-mi-t'o-fo was not difficult, when he was flanked by the popular god (or goddess) Kuan-yin on the left (place of honour in China) and Tai-shih-chih on the right.⁴ Thus Amitābha became the object of much veneration in China.

The Chinese representations of Amitābha resemble the Southern-Buddhist images of Buddha, with short curly hair, long-lobed ears, the *ushnīṣa*, the *ūrṇā*, and the half-closed eyes indicating deep meditation (the eyes and features are always Indian, not Mongolian). He is seated with closely locked legs, and his hands are usually in

¹ v. *Vajrapāṇi*.

³ Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*.

² Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 818.

⁴ Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāma-prāpta.



a. AMIDA



b. AMIDA



c. AMITĀYUS



d. AMITĀYUS

dhyāna mudrā, but may be against his breast with the tips of the index fingers touching and pointing upwards, while the other fingers are locked. This *mudrā* in India indicates Buddha as 'Liberator of the Nāgas', and in Japan is the mystic gesture of the Ba-tō Kwannon. It is said to be emblematical of the lotus-flower.

There is another form of O-mi-t'o-fo sometimes seen in China. He is standing, his arms abnormally long, and is called Chieh-yin-fo, or the 'Buddha who guides into Paradise'.

AMIDA NYORAI

(Japanese Buddha of Infinite Light).

Amitābha was pronounced incarnate in the great Sun goddess Amaterasu¹ by Kōbō Daishi in the ninth century A. D., but the actual worship of Amida in Japan does not date farther back than the twelfth century.

The Jōdo-shū (Pure Land Sect) was founded by Gen-kū² in the thirteenth century on the doctrines of the *Amitāyurdhyāna sūtra*. Toward the thirteenth century another Amida sect, the Shin-shū, was founded by the great Shin-ran, and Amidaism, with its dogma of the Western Paradise and salvation through faith in Amida, became so popular that these two sects alone constituted more than half the Buddhist population of Japan.

Amida is looked upon as the One Original Buddha (Ichi-butsu), without beginning and without end, besides whom there is none other. He is the 'Father of the World', and all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are temporary manifestations of him, but is he the creator? Here the Amida sects disagree. They call him the 'Supreme Buddha', although the doctrine of Ādi-Buddha, as evolved in Nepal, does not appear to have been adopted by the Japanese Mahāyānists.

The Amida sects claim, however, that Amida revealed himself in Nepal as Ādi-Buddha, and that when Nāgārjuna³ went there to worship the Ādi-Buddha he became acquainted with the Bodhisattva Mahānāga, who taught him the doctrine of faith in Amida. When Nāgārjuna was sufficiently enlightened, Mahānāga conducted him to the Dragon Palace under the sea, where he received further instruction, and was then given the treatise on which the Amida doctrine is founded.

According to Mr. A. Lloyd, the Amida sects claim that Amida 'revealed himself many times in a long list of Tathāgata, of which Śākya-muni was the last manifestation'. He is believed to have two special qualities, Mercy and Wisdom, which are personified by Kwan-non (Avalokiteśvara), god of Mercy, and Dai-sei-shi (Mahāsthāmaprāpta), who is the spiritual manifestation of the wisdom of Amida, and these two, with Amida, form a trinity. According to Lloyd, they 'are at once distinct in Person and one in Essence, and bear a striking resemblance to the unity of Three Persons in our Christian Trinity'.

Amida is represented like the Amitābha of Northern Buddhism with the exception that, while he wears the usual monastic garments, both shoulders are covered,

¹ According to A. Lloyd, *Creed of Half Japan*, p. 201, goddess identified with *Vairocana*.

² Known as Hōnen Shōnin (1133-1212).

³ v. *Nāgārjuna*.

the breast partly bare. If sitting, the legs are closely locked, the soles of the feet turned upward. The hands may be forming the *dharmacakra mudrā*, but are usually both lying in the lap in *dhyāna mudrā*, differing, however, from the Indian pose. The palms are held upward with all the fingers locked underneath, except the indexes, which touch the tips of the thumbs with their tips (the second joints of the indexes against each other), thus forming two 'triangular' poses.¹

Amida, when standing (he may also be seated), has the right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *vara mudrā*, and thus resembles Shaka with this difference, that the tip of the thumb touches the tip of the index in both hands, forming the 'dogmatic' gesture. The four poses of the hands of Amida—*dhyāna*, *dharmacakra*, *abhaya*, and *vara*—may have three variations, the tips of the thumbs touching the indexes, second or third fingers. The second finger is the most popular in Korea. The third is very rare.

The eyes are almost closed in deep meditation, and the features, with the long-lobed ears, are Indian.

AMOGHASIDDHI (Fifth Dhyāni-Buddha) (Buddha of Infallible Magic).

(T.) *don-grub*.

(J.) *Fukū jō-jū*.

Mudrā: *abhaya* (protecting).

Symbol: *viśva-vajra* (double thunderbolt).

Colour: green.

Vāhana: *shen-shang* (dwarf).

Śakti: Tārā.

Support: blue-green lotus.

Element: earth.

Amoghasiddhi, the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha, is believed to be 'unfailingly successful' and to have the power of infallible magic. He is seated in 'adamantine' pose (legs closely locked, with the soles of the feet apparent). The left hand lies in his lap, with the palm upwards, and may balance the double thunderbolt, or hold a sword. The right hand is lifted in *abhaya mudrā* ('blessing of Fearlessness'), a pose of the hands indicating protection. All the fingers are extended upwards, palm outwards.

At Tun-huang (or, more exactly, in the Chinese province of Kansu) a statue of Amoghasiddhi² was discovered by the Pelliot mission, with the right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *vara* (charity) *mudrā*. The right shoulder is bare, and he is seated in European fashion like his Mānushi-Buddha, Maitreya.

In Japan, Amoghasiddhi, the fifth of the *Gochi Nyorai*, is often replaced by, or rather identified with, Śākya-muni, and their representations are identical; i.e., right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, and left, lying on the lap, in *dhyāna mudrā* or with the thumb turned in and all the fingers closed over it. In the Nepalese *caityas*, where the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are represented in niches, Amoghasiddhi alone has a canopy of snakes over his head.³

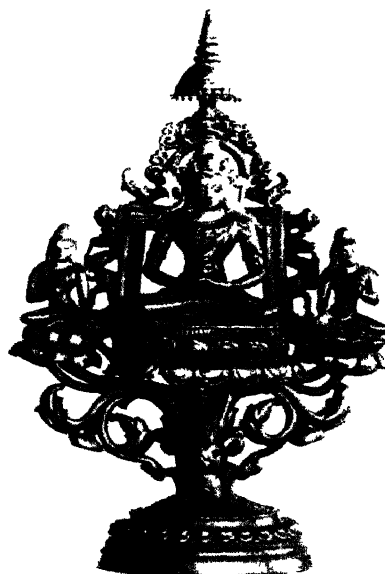
¹ v. Glossary for *vitarka* and *dhyāna mudrā*.
Illus. Pl. xviii, fig. b.

² Amoghasiddhi, lit. 'unfailingly successful', according to Sir Denison Ross, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

³ Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 40, n. 1. In a temple banner in the British Museum where the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are represented, the fifth has a snake coiled beside him.



a. NĀGA LAMP



b. AMITĀYUS



c. MAÑJUŚRĪ (OR AVALOKITEŚVARA ?)



d. BUDDHIST EMBLEMATIC VASE

THE DHYĀNI-BODHISATTVA

TABLE IV

-Bodhisattva.	Group of Five.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Samantabhadra. Vajrapāṇi. Ratnapāṇi. Avalokiteśvara. Viśvapāṇi. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I. Kuan-shih-yin. II. Kwan-non. III. Legend of Miao-shan. IV. Hārītī.
	Group of Eight.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Avalokiteśvara. Ākāśagarbha. Vajrapāṇi. Kṣhitigarbha. Sarva-nīvaraṇa- vishkambhin. Maitreya.¹ Samantabhadra. Mañjuśrī. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I. Ti-tsang. II. Jizō.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mahāsthāma-prāpta. Trailokyavijaya. 	

¹ v. *The Buddhas*.

THE DHYĀNI-BODHISATTVA¹ (SAMBHOGA-KĀYA)

(He whose essence is Perfect Knowledge).

ACCORDING to the Northern Buddhist school, there are both mortal and celestial Bodhisattva.

A mortal Bodhisattva is one who has manifested himself on earth in human (*mānushi*) form, in a series of incarnations, until such a time as he has acquired sufficient merit and enlightenment (*bodhi-jñāna*) to receive Buddhahood.

Like Gautama Buddha in his incarnation of the *arhat* Sumedha,² the Bodhisattva may have been, in a former re-birth, an *arhat*³ bent on his own salvation who, becoming inspired with the desire for Bodhi in order to save mankind, renounced his *arhat*-ship.

It is unusual, however, according to M. de la Vallée Poussin,⁴ for the future Bodhisattva to have been an *arhat*. In the first stage, he usually becomes a candidate to Bodhisattvahood by the practice of the six Pāramitās, or Transcendent Virtues, through which he is to accumulate merit.

The second stage of the Bodhisattva is reached when he becomes *conscious* of the desire for Buddhahood. This illumination is called 'Bodhi-citta'.⁵ The aspirant, now aware of his wish for Bodhi, must make the vow that he will re-enter, or continue to remain in, the world of suffering for the sole purpose of saving mankind.

This, the Great Vow of the Bodhisattva, however, does not make the aspirant a Bodhisattva. It is only when he enters on the Path of Bodhi that he reaches the third stage, at which he becomes a Bodhisattva.

But in order to reach the ultimate goal of Buddhahood, it is necessary for the Bodhisattva, in one of his incarnations, to meet the reigning Buddha of that *kalpa*, or epoch, and acquaint him with his desire for Buddhahood. The Tathāgata will then look forward through the future re-births of the Bodhisattva and announce his eventual triumph.

The Bodhisattva, now aware of his future Buddhahood, enters on a stage 'from which there is no return'. He must practise the ten Pāramitās which make a Buddha, and continue to accumulate merit in his different re-births, always bearing in mind that his sole aim in becoming a Tathāgata is to save all creatures from suffering.

When the future Buddha has reached the last stage of Bodhisattvahood, and resides in the Tushita heaven, he is free to decide whether he will pass through the intermediary stages of the thirteen Bodhisattva heavens⁶ to reach Nirvāṇa, or will

¹ *Bodhi* (knowledge), *sattva* (essence). (J.)
Hoshin nyorai.

² v. *The Dipaṅkara Buddha*.

³ v. *Arhat*.

⁴ Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*,

'The Bodhisattva', vol. ii.

⁵ *Bodhi* (knowledge), *citta* (thought or aspiration).

⁶ In India, ten *bhuvana*.

descend to earth and become a mortal Buddha, after which he will enter directly into Nirvāṇa.

The only Mānushi-Bodhisattva that is met with in Buddhist art is Maitreya, who has two representations: as Bodhisattva, his present form in the Tushita heaven, and as Buddha, the form he will take when he descends to earth as Mānushi-Buddha. (Pl. xv, figs. *a* and *b*.) All the other Bodhisattva representations are of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva is celestial and is the second 'body' (*kāya*) in the Tri-kāya or Northern Buddhist Trinity.¹ He is believed to dwell in the Rūpadhātu heaven in the body of absolute completeness (Sambhoga-kāya), in a state of 'reflected spirituality', that is to say, that it is in this form that the Dharma-kāya (Dhyāni-Buddha) reveals himself to the Bodhisattva or future Buddhas in the Tushita heaven. Although, according to the Buddhist writings, their name is legion, there are comparatively few Dhyāni-Bodhisattva represented in Buddhist art, and these may be divided into two groups—of five and of eight.

The five Dhyāni-Bodhisattva correspond with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, and differ in many respects from the other celestial Bodhisattva. They are: Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, and Viśvapāṇi.

Those belonging to the group of eight are found in Northern Buddhist temples on either side of an important divinity. The gods on the right are: Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, and Kṣhitigarbha; while on the left are: Sarva-nīvaraṇa-vishkambhin, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, and Mañjuśrī.

Each Dhyāni-Bodhisattva in the group of five is evolved, according to the system, by his Dhyāni-Buddha. He is a reflex, an emanation from him; in other words, his spiritual son. Certain Northern Buddhist sects that interlink the dogmas of the Tri-kāya and the Tri-ratna² look upon the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva as the active creator, Saṅgha, product of the union of Buddha (mind) and Dharma (matter). According to the system of Ādi-Buddha, the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva receives the active power of creation from Ādi-Buddha through the medium of his spiritual father, the Dhyāni-Buddha.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of this group of five have a definite place in the Mahāyāna system and for a special purpose, that is, to evolve, *each in his turn*, from his own essence, a material and perishable world over which he is to preside until the advent of the Mānushi-Buddha of *his cycle*. At the death of his mortal Buddha, he must continue the work of the propagation of Buddhism until his successor creates a new world.

Three of the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva have created worlds, and are now engrossed in worshipping Ādi-Buddha, or, according to some, have been absorbed into Nirvāṇa. The present world is the fourth, and there is the fifth yet to come.

The first world was created by Samantabhadra (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva). His spiritual

¹ Dharma-kāya, Sambhoga-kāya, Nirmāṇa-kāya (Dhyāni-Buddha, Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, Mānushi-Buddha).

² Or 'Three Jewels', Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha. v. *Tri-ratna*.

father Vairocana (Dhyāni-Buddha) manifested himself on earth in the form of Mānushi-Buddha, Krakucchanda. In the same way we have :

The second world.
 Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Vajrapāṇi.
 Dhyāni-Buddha : Akshobhya.
 Mānushi-Buddha : Kanaka-Muni.

The third world.
 Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Ratnapāṇi.
 Dhyāni-Buddha : Ratnasambhava.
 Mānushi-Buddha : Kāśyapa.

The fourth world is the present one, created by Avalokiteśvara (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva). His spiritual father, Amitābha (Dhyāni-Buddha), manifested himself on earth in the form of Gautama-Buddha, Śākya-muni. The Northern Buddhists believe that Avalokiteśvara continues the work that Gautama Buddha began, and, in order to do so, incarnates himself in each successive Dalai-Lama of Lhasa.

Five thousand years after the death of Gautama Buddha, Maitreya will appear as Mānushi-Buddha in the fifth world, which will be created by Viśvapāṇi (fifth Dhyāni-Bodhisattva), who dwells in the Rūpadhātu heaven waiting for the fifth cycle, when he will receive active power of creation and evolve the fifth world.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva is represented dressed in princely garments and wearing the thirteen precious ornaments, which are : a five-leaved crown, an ear-ring, a closely-fitting necklace, an armlet, a wristlet, a bracelet, an anklet, a shawl for the lower limbs and one for the upper ; a garland reaching to the thigh and another to the navel ; a girdle, and a sash. In the central leaf of the five-leaved crown is usually a small image of his Dhyāni-Buddha or spiritual father. The hair is drawn up in mitre shape, forming the *ushnīsha*, and may be decorated with jewels. He generally has the *ūrṇā* on the forehead.

If the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva is in a sanctuary with his Dhyāni-Buddha he is always standing, but is represented seated when in his own chapel.

The first Dhyāni-Bodhisattva mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures is Mañjuśrī, personification of Wisdom. The second is Avalokiteśvara, personifying Mercy, while the third is Vajrapāṇi, bearer of the thunderbolt (*vajra*), personifying Power. These three form a very popular triad—the first triad in Northern Buddhism.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva may be in company with their *śakti* in *yab-yum* attitude, as well as the Dhyāni-Buddhas, who, in that case, are represented like the Bodhisattva and are called ‘crowned Buddhas’.

The Chinese claim four Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha), who presides over the earth ; Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara), who presides over water and symbolizes Mercy ; P’u-hsien (Samantabhadra), who presides over fire and symbolizes Happiness ; Wen-shu (Mañjuśrī), who presides over ether and symbolizes Wisdom.

These are also practically the only Bodhisattva popular in Japan. The Bodhisattva in both China and Japan may be either dressed like a Buddha with only the high and complicated *ushnīsha*, indicating his rank, or richly dressed and wearing many ornaments, which, however, do not correspond to the traditional thirteen ornaments quoted above. (v. *Kuan-yin* and *Kuan-non*.)

SAMANTABHADRA (First Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Universal Kindness).

(T.) *kun-tu bzai-po* (kind to all).
 (M.) *gamugha sain* (all goodness).
 (C.) *P'u-hsien* (普賢).
 (J.) *Fu-gen*.

Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).
vara (charity).

Symbol : *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel), scroll
 and *nyo-i* or mace.

Colour : green or yellow.

Emblem : *utpala* (blue lotus).

Vāhana : elephant.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of the first Dhyāni-
 Buddha, Vairocana.

Samantabhadra was looked upon, among the ancient Northern Buddhist sects, as Highest Intelligence, a primordial Buddha ; but his popularity diminished when the two great sects, the dKar-hGya-pa (Red Bonnets) and dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow Bonnets), set up Vajradhara as Ādi-Buddha.

Certain of the Yogācārya sects claim that Samantabhadra, instead of Vairocana (his Dhyāni-Buddha), was the founder of the Yoga system, and look upon him as divinity of Religious Ecstasy. He is the special divine patron in Japan of those who practise Hokkésammai (ecstatic meditation).

Samantabhadra, reflex of Vairocana, is the first Dhyāni-Bodhisattva corresponding with the five celestial Jinās, or Dhyāni-Buddhas, and is one of the group of eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva found in Northern Buddhist temples. He is represented with the crown, the ornaments and princely garments of the Bodhisattva, and holds his symbol, the *cintāmaṇi*, in his left hand, or it may be supported by a blue lotus at his left shoulder. The right hand makes *vitarka mudrā* : the hand raised—the thumb and index touching at the tips forming the ‘triangular pose’. He may be either seated or standing ; and is sometimes with his *śakti* in the *yāb-yum* attitude.

When in the group of eight Bodhisattva, he is standing with his hands in ‘argument’ and ‘charity’ *mudrā*, holding the stems of lotus-flowers which support his special symbol, the *cintāmaṇi*, at the right, and an accessory symbol, the *vajra*, at the left. If painted, he is yellow.

In Japan one finds Samantabhadra (Fugen) at the right of Śākya-muni in a triad with Mañjuśrī, seated on an elephant and holding a lotus-flower, but he may also carry a scroll or the *nyo-i* (baton of power). The elephant may be crouching, but is more usually standing, and may have three heads or one head with six tusks (the more usual form). In the latter case it usually carries the *cintāmaṇi* on the head. As Kongōsatta is sometimes represented supported by an elephant with three heads, he is often confused with Fugen. (v. *Kongōsatta*.)

The Tantra form of Fugen may be seated either on a four-headed elephant or on a lotus-flower supported by four elephants, each having on its head a Lokapāla. This form also resembles that of Kongōsatta, but the symbols held in the original hands, as well as their *mudrās*, are different. (v. *Kongōsatta*.)

In China the triad of P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra) with Śākya-muni and Mañjuśrī is also popular. He is practically never represented alone, and is always on an elephant

and usually holds a scroll (v. Pl. xxxiv, fig. b). The place of pilgrimage of P'u-hsien is on Mount Omi (Wo-mei shan) in the province of Ssū-ch'uan, where, in one of the monasteries, there is a very fine bronze statue of the god, seated on an elephant.

The Buddha in the triad with Manju and Fugen, in Japan, is always Shaka, although he may resemble Amida when, in the *abhaya* and *vara mudrās*, the fingers are somewhat bent. If the second finger is slightly bent, it indicates the Shingon sect.



DOGMATIC FORM OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

FORMS OF VAJRAPĀṆI

TABLE V

A. Human form :

I. Symbol : *vajra* (thunderbolt) Dhyāni-Bodhisattva.

II. Symbols : *vajra*, sometimes third eye.
ghaṇṭā (bell).
pāśa (lasso). } Ācārya-Vajrapāṇi
(Dharmapāla).¹

B. Other forms :

I. One head, four arms. { Symbols : *vajra*.
Treads on personage lying
on snakes. } Nilāmbara-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam).²

II. Three heads, six arms. { Symbols : *vajra*.
Holds snakes.
Treads on Brahmā and Siva.
Form : *yab-yum*. } Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam).

III. Four heads, four arms, four legs. { Symbols : *khaḍga* (sword).
pāśa (lasso).
vajra (thunderbolt).
Treads on demons. } Acala-Vajrapāṇi.

IV. Form with head, wings, and claws like Garuḍa.

¹ v. *Dharmapāla*.

² v. *Yi-dam*.

VAJRAPAṆI (Second Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Thunderbolt-bearer).

God of Rain.

(T.) *p'yag-na rdo-rje* (pro. *ichagdor*) (holding the thunderbolt).

(M.) *vačirbani* (corruption of *Vajrapāṇi*) or *modur taghanvačirtu* (with a thunderbolt in his hand).

(C.) *Kim-kang* (金剛).

(J.) *Kongō* (vajra).

Symbol : *vajra* (thunderbolt).

Colour : blue (dark) or white.

Emblem : *utpala* (blue lotus).

Śakti : Sujata.

Mantra : *Om, Vajrapāṇi, hūm !*

Corresponds with the Brahmanical god Indra.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of the second Dhyāni-Buddha Akshobhya.

Dharmapāla (Drag-ched) forms.

Symbols : *vajra*.

khaḍga (sword).

pāśa (lasso).

ghaṇṭā (bell).

Distinctive marks : serpent.

small garuḍa (mythical bird).

One of both groups of five and eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva.

Vajrapāṇi is both the ferocious emanation of Vajradhara and the spiritual reflex, the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, of Akshobhya;¹ but in the early Buddhist legends, when mentioned as accompanying Gautama Buddha, he is referred to as a minor deity. In fact, according to certain accounts, he lived in the Trayastriṃśa heaven as king of the devas.

Grünwedel identifies Vajrapāṇi with Śakra or Indra, the Indian god of Rain, known to us in Gandhāra statues.² In the Buddhist records, Śakra is mentioned as being present at the birth of the Tathāgata³ and as assisting at his flight from the palace. In the incident of the return of Śākya-muni from Kapilavastu, however, Vajrapāṇi is referred to as multiplying himself into eight devas to escort him, while the 'divine Śakra, with a multitude of devas belonging to Kāmaloka, took their place on the left hand'.

Hsüan Tsang mentions Vajrapāṇi as being with the Tathāgata when he subdued the gigantic snake in Udayāna. It is also related that when the Nāgas (serpent gods) appeared before the Buddha to listen to his teachings, Vajrapāṇi was charged by the Tathāgata to guard them from the attacks of their mortal enemies, the *garuḍas*,⁴ and that, in order to deceive and combat the *garuḍas*, Vajrapāṇi assumed a form with head, wings, and claws like the *garuḍas* themselves. At the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha it is recorded that 'letting fall his diamond sceptre⁵ in despair, he rolled himself in the dust'. In Japanese paintings of the death of the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi is always red in colour.

¹ Hodgson, however, calls him the 'aeon of Vajrasattva Buddha'. De Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna*, p. 16, calls Vajrapāṇi the 'reflex of Vajrasattva'.

² v. A. Foucher, *l'Art gréco-bouddhique*, figs. 276, 278.

³ Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst* (English translation), p. 90.

⁴ A mythical bird of gigantic size.

⁵ *vajra*.



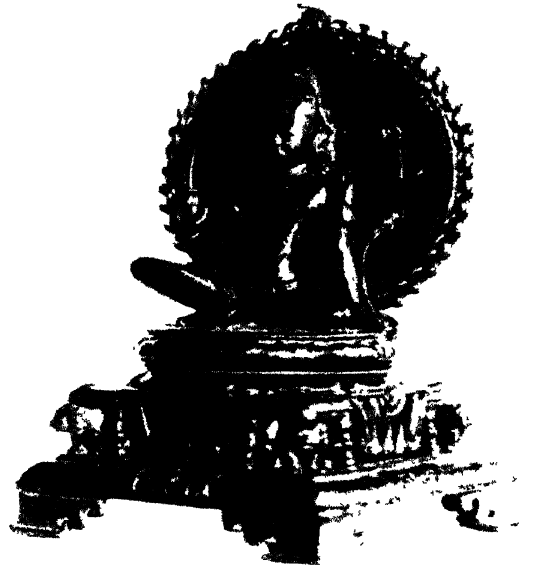
a VAJRASATTVA



b. AVALOKITEŚVARA



c. AVALOKITEŚVARA



d. AVALOKITEŚVARA

The Nāgas are believed to control the rain-clouds, hence Vajrapāṇi, as their protector, is looked upon as the Rain God, and it is to him the Northern Buddhists appeal when rain is needed, or is too abundant.

Vajrapāṇi is rarely seen in statues alone, but often in a triad with Amitāyus (or Mañjuśrī) and Padmapāṇi. One finds him in religious paintings and in the miniatures of Nepalese books, where he is either at the left of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha or at the right of Tārā. He is represented holding the *vajra* and standing with his legs crossed.¹ This detail is of especial interest in identifying the personage in the Gandhāra sculptures who often accompanies Gautama Buddha, holding an object in his right hand which may be the primitive form of the *vajra*,² and whose legs are sometimes crossed. This same personage, holding the primitive *vajra*, was also found in the frescoes³ discovered by Herr von Le Coq in Chinese Turkestan, as well as a Vajrapāṇi carrying a most ornate thunderbolt.

The non-Tantra Bodhisattva form of Vajrapāṇi is very rare. In Pander's *Pantheon* he is represented seated with the legs locked, balancing the *vajra* on his hands lying in 'meditation' *mudrā* on his lap, but he may be also making 'witness' (*bhūmi-sparśa*) *mudrā*, the *vajra* being balanced in the palm of his left hand on his lap.⁴ In the collection of Mr. Gustave Schlumberger there is a Vajrapāṇi brandishing the *vajra* in his right hand while his left is in *vitarka mudrā*.

Besides being the protector of the Nāgas against the Garuḍas, Vajrapāṇi is the implacable enemy of the demons, the reason for which is explained in the following legend.⁵ Once upon a time the Buddhas all met together on the top of Mount Meru (Sumeru) to deliberate upon the best means of procuring the Water of Life (*amṛita*) which lies concealed at the bottom of the ocean.

The evil demons were in possession of the powerful poison, Halā-hala, and using it to bring destruction on mankind. In order to procure the antidote, they decided to churn the ocean with the Mount Meru. When the *amṛita* had risen to the surface of the water, they put it in the keeping of Vajrapāṇi, until they should decide on the best means of using it; but Vajrapāṇi left the Elixir of Life a moment unguarded and the monster, Rāhu, stole it. Then followed a fearful struggle for the possession of the *amṛita*. Rāhu was conquered in the end, but the Water of Life had been defiled; and the Buddhas, to punish Vajrapāṇi, forced him to drink it, whereupon he became dark blue from the poison mixed with the *amṛita*.

This legend seems to explain the presence of Vajrapāṇi as guardian of the Elixir of Life in a triad with Amitāyus, who holds the ambrosia vase, and Padmapāṇi, who carries a *kalāśa* (ewer of *amṛita*).

Vajrapāṇi is the second Dhyāni-Bodhisattva corresponding to the five Celestial Jinas. He is also one of the group of eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva found in the

¹ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 121.

² v. *Vajra*. v. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst*, pp. 85, 98, 112.

³ Now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

⁴ In one of the miniatures in the MS. Add.

1643 in the University Library, Cambridge, Vajrapāṇi is represented balancing the *vajra* in his left hand lying in his lap. He is painted white instead of blue.

⁵ Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 114.

Northern Buddhist temples, in which case he is represented standing, and may carry the *vajra* in the right hand with the left in *varada mudrā*, or with the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* supported by lotus-flowers, the stems of which he holds in his hands in 'charity' and 'argument' *mudrā*. If painted, he is white in colour.

He is sometimes figured seated with the right or left leg pendent. The right hand holds the *vajra* at his breast, while the left may be leaning on the lotus pedestal, behind the left knee, or be lying on the left knee in *varada mudrā*.

In Nepal, Vajrapāṇi is represented with the *vajra* supported by a lotus, the stem of which is held in the right hand, while the left is in *varada mudrā* or may have a *vajra* lying on the palm. If in paintings, his colour is white.

Vajrapāṇi was also known and worshipped in Cambodia.¹ At Bāt Čum, in 953 A. D., three sanctuaries were dedicated to the triad of the Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Vajrapāṇi. According to Coedès,² Vajrapāṇi was especially venerated in one of these sanctuaries, where he was figured, according to the inscriptions, with four arms.

In the monoliths found in Western Cambodia, Vajrapāṇi is also represented with four or two arms in the niches on each of the four sides. He is always standing, and may carry the *ghaṇṭā* as well as the *vajra*.

In Japan, Vajrapāṇi is not a popular deity, and is found more often in mystic diagrams than in statuary form. In the Garbhakośa *maṇḍala* the sixth assembly is called the 'Vajrapāṇi enclosure', in which there are twenty different forms of Vajrapāṇi presided over by Kongōsatta.

Vajrapāṇi has several ferocious (Dharmapāla) forms in Tibet, assumed to combat the various demons. The most important of these forms are :

Vajrapāṇi-Ācārya (Dharmapāla).

He is represented in human form, with his dishevelled hair standing on end, and wearing a skull crown. His expression is angry, and he has the third eye. Around his neck is a serpent necklace, and at his waist a belt of heads, underneath which is a tiger skin. He steps to the right, and in his uplifted hand is a *vajra*. If painted, he is dark blue, and is generally surrounded by flames in which are small Garuḍas.

Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam).

He has one head, a third eye, a skull crown, with sometimes a *vajra* and snake in his dishevelled hair, and has four or six arms. Two hands are held at his breast in a mystic *mudrā*, and the second right arm is uplifted, holding the *vajra*. He steps to the right on a crowned personage³ lying on a bed of serpents.

Acala-Vajrapāṇi (Dharmapāla).

He has four heads, four arms as well as four legs, and his symbols are *vajra*, sword, lasso, and skull-cup (*kapāla*). He treads on demons.

Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi (Yi-dam).

He has three heads with the third eye, six arms, and two legs. He is painted

¹ Finot, *Lokeśvara*, p. 236; Sir Charles Eliot, vol. iii, p. 22.

² J. A. S. xii. 1908, p. 230.

³ Grünwedel suggests that it is Siva, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 164.

blue—the head at the right is white, at the left red. His symbols are the *vajra* and a serpent, and he holds his *yum* with the two original arms. The *śakti* holds a *kapāla* (skull-cup) and *grigug* (chopper). He steps to the right on Brahmā, and his left foot treads on Śiva.

Vajrapāṇi, the Thunderbolt-Wielder, as a 'spell deity', is the deified form of a snake charm, the Protector against snake-bites. He is figured in this aspect, seated on a lotus throne supported by peacocks. His right hand holds at his breast one end of a noose, with which to catch the snake demons; while the left, on his hip, holds the other end of the noose. He is accompanied by the two Bodhisattvas: Sarva-nīvaraṇa-vish-kambhin, Effacer of Stains, and Samantabhadra, the Entirely Virtuous One. He wears many ornaments as well as a high crown, and snakes are coiled around his arms and ankles. If painted, he is white, but he has also a blue form which differs slightly from the above in that the noose in his left hand is attached to a double *vajra* (viśva-vajra), whereas in the white form the 'crossed-vajras' symbol is represented at his left above the accompanying Bodhisattva.¹

Garuḍa form.

He is usually standing, and has the wings and claws of a Garuḍa (Pl. LIX, fig. c). He may have a human head with a beak, or a head like a Garuḍa. His wings are spread, and, if painted, he is dark blue. The right hand may hold a chopper, and the left, a bowl. He stands on a demon or, according to Grünwedel, a dying Nāga. He sometimes carries a sword and a gourd-shaped bottle, or his two hands may be in 'prayer' *mudrā*.²

RATNAPĀṆI (Third Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Jewel-bearer).

Symbol : *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel). Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of the third Dhyāni-Buddha Ratnasambhava.

Ratnapāṇi belongs to the group of five Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, but is not included in the group of eight.

The statues of Ratnapāṇi are very rare, and he is also seldom represented in paintings. He wears the usual five-leaved crown and ornaments of a Celestial Bodhisattva; and is seated with the right hand in 'charity' *mudrā*, sometimes holding the stem of a lotus-flower, while the left, balancing the *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel) lies in his lap.³

There is a Chinese example in bronze, with three *cintāmaṇi* in the Bodhisattva crown. The flaming pearls are arranged with one above the other two, thus forming a triangle. In the left hand is a *cintāmaṇi*, also in the form of a pearl, from the top of which issues a three-forked flame. The right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*.

¹ v. Waddell, *The Dhāraṇī Cult*, fig. 8.

³ v. Pander's *Pantheon*. Illus. LXXIX.

² Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

TABLE VI

One head.	I. Human form.	I. Avalokiteśvara. Mudrā : <i>namaḥkāra</i> (devotional). Symbol : rosary and pink lotus.
		II. Padmapāṇi. Mudrā : <i>vara</i> (charity). Symbols : vase and lotus. Distinctive mark : Amitabha in crown.
		III. Avalokita as Buddha. ¹
		IV. Avalokiteśvara. Siṃhanāda (on roaring lion). Distinctive mark : crescent in hair.
		V. Nilakaṇṭhāryāvalokiteśvara.
		VI. Trailokyavaśamkara-Lokeśvara.
		VII. Hariharivarivāhanodbhava.
	II. Human form with emanations	I. Avalokiteśvara with emanations of twelve 'crowned' Buddhas. Symbol : lotus.
		II. Siṃhanāda-Lokeśvara with emanations of five Buddhas.
	III. Four arms.	I. Form incarnate in the Dalai Lama. Mudrā : <i>namaḥkāra</i> . Symbols : lotus, vase, rosary or <i>mudrās</i> .
		II. Upper hands : <i>mudrā namaḥkāra</i> . Lower hands : <i>mudrā dhyāna</i> (meditation) holding <i>pātra</i> (begging-bowl).
		III. Mudrā : <i>dharmacakra</i> (turning the Wheel of the Law).
		IV. Rakta-Lokeśvara.
	IV. Ten to eighteen arms.	I. Ten arms— <i>añjali mudrā</i> —holding <i>Tārā</i> .
		II. Padmanarteśvara.
	V. Dogmatic form of Avalokiteśvara—twelve arms. (Nāmasangiti?)	
	VI. Six to twenty arms. Amoghapāśa. Mudrā : <i>namaḥkāra</i> or <i>dharmacakra</i> . Special emblem : <i>pāśa</i> (lasso). Symbols : rosary, lotus, bow, &c.	

¹ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 94.

Three heads. { I. Third eye, four arms. Mudrā : *vara*.
 Symbols : rosary, padma, bow and arrow.
 II. Hālāhala-Lokeśvara.

Five heads. { I. See Māyājālakramāryāvalokiteśvara.
 Third eye—twelve arms.
 II. Third eye, twenty-four arms. Mudrā : *añjali* (salutation).
namaḥkāra.
dhyāna.

Eleven heads. { I. Six to eight arms. Mudrā : *namaḥkāra*.
 One pair of arms raised in *añjali mudrā*, holding Amitābha image.

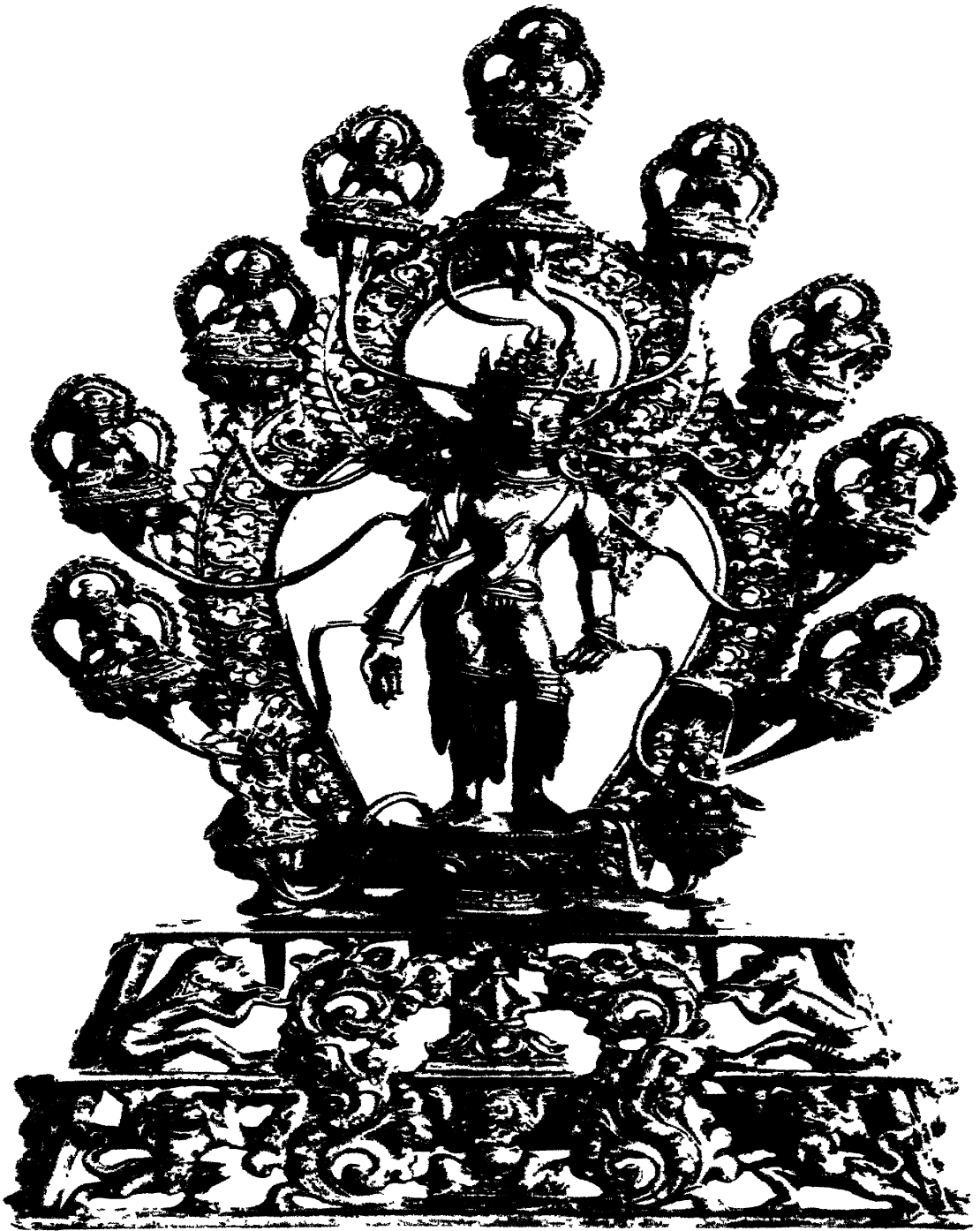
{ I. 1,000 armed (if eyes in palms '1,000 eyes').
 Symbols : rosary, lotus, *kalāṣa*, &c.
 Mudrā : *dharmacakra* or *namaḥkāra*.
 II. 1,000 armed—two upper hands hold sword and shield—steps to right on serpent.

Lokeśvara in Indo-China . . { Champa.
 Cambodia.
 Annam.

Lokeśvara in Siam.

Kuan-shih-yin in China.

Kwan-non in Japan.



AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH TWELVE EMANATIONS

AVALOKITEŚVARA (Fourth Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

Lit. *avalokita* (looking on), *iśvara* (lord).

‘The lord who looks in every direction’ (Sadd. Puṇḍ).¹

(T.) *spyān-ras-gzigs* (pro. *tchen-re-si*)
(with a pitying look).

(M.) *nīdubariṣṭekṣi* (lit. ‘he who looks with
the eyes’) or *gongśim-bodhisattva*.

(C.) *Kuan-shih-yin* (觀世音).

(J.) *Kwan-ze-on* (*Kwan-nōn*).

Mudrā : *namaḥkāra* (prayer).

Symbols : *mālā* (rosary).

padma (pink lotus).

Colour : white [in Nepal, red²].

Consort : Tārā.

Mantra : *Ōm, maṇi padme, hūm !*

Vija mantra : *Hri !*

Fourth Dhyāni-Buddha : Amitābha.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Avalokiteśvara.

Mānushi-Buddha : Śākya-Muni.

In the *Mani Kambum*³ it is related that ‘once upon a time, Amitābha, after giving himself up to earnest meditation, caused a white ray of light to issue from his right eye, which brought Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) Bodhisattva into existence’. It goes on to say that Amitābha blessed him, whereupon the Bodhisattva brought forth the prayer : ‘*Ōm, maṇi padme, hūm !*’ ‘Oh ! the jewel (of creation) is in the lotus !’⁴ (Beal).

Avalokiteśvara, the Measured Light of the Sun and Moon, is thus the reflex or spiritual son of Amitābha, Buddha of Infinite Light. As the personification of Power, the All-pitying One, he is the most popular divinity in the Mahāyāna Buddhist Pantheon, and is the object of much veneration in Nepal and Tibet. In fact, his worship still extends northward to Lake Baikal and from the Caucasus eastward to Japan.

It is not known how early the worship of Avalokiteśvara existed in India. His name is mentioned in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*, but the date of this *sūtra* is uncertain, and little credence is given to the legend that Kāśyapa Mātanga⁵ discoursed on this

¹ According to the Tibetans, ‘the lord who looks’. European scholars give ‘the lord of what we see’, ‘the revealed lord’, ‘the lord whom we see’, or ‘the lord with compassionate glances’. Sir Charles Eliot gives : ‘the lord who is looked at’, vol. ii, p. 13. Finot follows the Tibetan rendering, ‘the lord who looks’, *Lokesvara en Indo-Chine*, p. 1, and v. Zimmer, *Der Name Avalokiteśvara*, Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band I, Heft I.

² Avalokiteśvara usually takes the colour of his spiritual father Amitābha (red) in Nepal. A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 99.

³ A Tibetan historical work attributed to the Tibetan king sRong-tsan-sgam-po, according to Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 77.

⁴ According to Hodgson the correct translation is : ‘the mystic triform is in him of the jewel and lotus !’ v. *Ōm*. According to F. W. Thomas, J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 464, it should be written : *Ōm maṇipadme hūm*, which thus changes the sense to the invocation of a feminine divinity. v. A. H. Francke, J. R. A. S., July 1915, *The Meaning of the ‘Ōm-maṇi-padme-hūm’*.

⁵ Kāśyapa Mātanga is sometimes confounded with Kāśyapa Buddha. He returned with the emperor Mingti’s mission to China A. D. 67, and is believed to have been one of the first disciples of Gautama Buddha in a previous incarnation. v. M. Maspero, *Le Songe et l’Ambassade de l’empereur Ming*, B. E. F. E. O., vol. x, 1910, and v. P. Bose, *The Indian Teachers in China*, p. 37.

sūtra in India before introducing Buddhism into China, in the first century A. D. In Northern India his worship became popular toward the third century, and reached its climax in the seventh century. Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang speak of him with much reverence in the accounts of their travels in India.

Toward the eighth century the Mahāyāna school began to lose ground in India, and by the twelfth had practically disappeared, with the result that the very name of Avalokiteśvara is at present almost unknown south of the Himalayas.

His worship was introduced into Tibet in the middle of the seventh century, when he was proclaimed by the Buddhist priests incarnate in the king sRong-tsan-sgam-po. He soon became the most popular of all the Northern Buddhist gods, being looked upon as a representative of Buddha, and guardian of the Buddhist faith until Maitreya should appear on earth as Mānushi Buddha.

Another reason for his popularity is that he is believed to have created the fourth world, which is the actual universe, and he is therefore our creator.

The worship of Avalokiteśvara was introduced into China toward the end of the first century A. D., where he was called Kuan-yin; and penetrated into Japan in the beginning of the seventh century, where he was worshipped as Kwan-non.

Avalokiteśvara, the All-sided One, who plays an important part in some of the *sūtras*, was endowed by the Northern Buddhists with innumerable virtues. Śākya-muni himself, according to the *Mahāyāna sūtra*, acquainted the Bodhisattva Maitreya and Sarva-nīvaraṇaviśkambhin with the perfections of Avalokiteśvara, and with the miracles he accomplished when he descended into hell to convert the wicked, deliver them and transport them to Sukhāvātī—paradise of Amitābha. Among other miracles, he relates how he himself was saved by the Bodhisattva, and recounts the legend of Simhala,¹ of his shipwreck off Tamradvīpa, of the beautiful women who were in reality Rākshasas,² who tempted him, and of the miraculous horse that appeared on the seashore and carried him away in safety. He ends by saying that he, Buddha, was Simhala, and that the miraculous horse was Avalokiteśvara.³

The figure of Avalokiteśvara was generally placed on a hill-top, which may account for his being called 'the lord that looks down from on high', and which, according to Beal, is probably a relic or revival of the old worship of the hill-gods. Tradition connects him with a mountain called Potala mentioned in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*; and of which there are three in India. The one at the mouth of the Indus remains legendary, but in the seventh century Hsüan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara as having manifested himself on Mount Potala in Southern India.⁴ The palace of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa is named 'Potala'; while the island off Ningpo, dedicated to the worship of Avalokiteśvara, is called 'P'u-t'o', which is believed to be a corruption of 'Potala'. But just why Avalokiteśvara is connected with a Mount Potala remains an unsolved problem.⁵

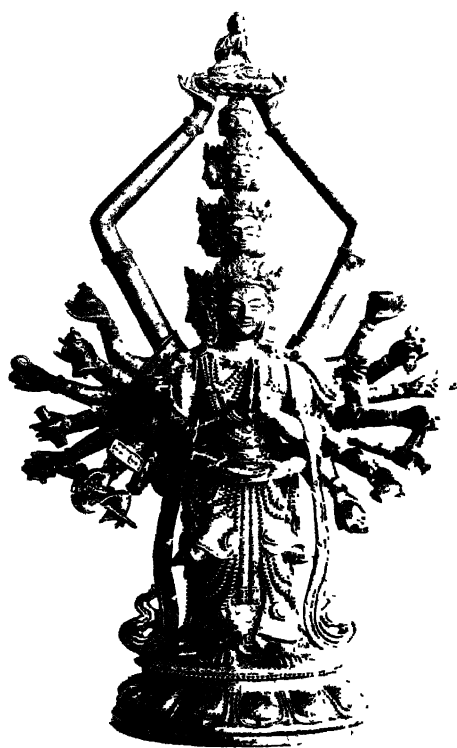
¹ v. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 199.

² Demons who devour men.

³ According to Beal, Avalokiteśvara is often spoken of as a white horse, or as 'horse headed' (Batō Kwan-non?)

⁴ *Travels of Hsuan Tsang* (Watters), pp. 215, 224.

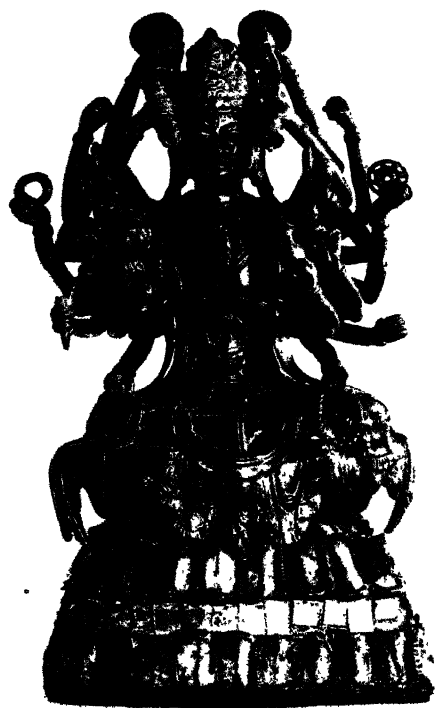
⁵ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 15; Johnston, *Buddhist China*, pp. 710–711.



a. AVALOKITEŚVARA



b. AVALOKITEŚVARA (')



c. AVALOKITEŚVARA (AMOGHAPĀŚA)



d. AVALOKITEŚVARA

Avalokiteśvara is in reality a kind of pope 'existing eternally in the heavens as a vicar of one of the Buddhas of the present age, but delegating his functions to a succession of earthly popes in whom he is perpetually incarnated and reincarnated, while at the same time preserving his personality in his own heaven'.

Buddhist legend claims that he manifested himself 333 times on earth¹ for the purpose of saving mankind, and that all the manifestations were human, with the exception of the miraculous horse Balāha, and masculine, with the exception of the female forms of Kuan-yin in China and Kwan-non in Japan. He is supposed to have been incarnate in the Tibetan king sRong-tsan-sgam-po, as well as in every successive Dalai-Lama, and is the principal tutelary deity of Tibet. He is worshipped in a triad with Mañjuśrī, God of Wisdom, and Vajrapāṇi, God of Power, on either side.

Although his first representations in India resembled Brahmā, with the hands in the *Brahmāñjali mudrā* (devotional attitude), his functions were those of Viṣṇu—Preserver and Defender. But he also has much in common with Śiva, for the colour of both is white, and Avalokita may carry the trident with a serpent coiled about it—Śiva's symbol. In Japan, near Nara, there is a statue of a Shō Kwan-non with a serpent coiled around the left arm.

Avalokiteśvara is sometimes represented with five heads (v. Pl. xxiii, fig. d), in which case he resembles Śiva as Mahādeva with five heads²; but his form with more than one head has usually double that number, with the head of Amitābha on top, making eleven heads in all. He is often represented in *yab-yum* attitude with his *śakti*, but there are examples where he holds the *yum* on his knee in archaic manner, as Śiva holds Pārvatī.

In his earliest form he is represented with one head and two arms, and either sitting or standing. His hands may be in 'prayer' *mudrā*, or the right in 'charity' and the left in 'argument' *mudrā*. His most popular non-Tantra form is Padmapāṇi.

In the earliest representations of Avalokita, the hair is drawn up in a high *ushnīsha*, but in later images he wears the five-leaved crown, in the centre leaf of which is usually a small image of his spiritual father Amitābha. In the paintings, however, according to M. Foucher, the image is usually omitted, and, if standing, the left hand is almost invariably in *vara* (charity) *mudrā*.³

Although Avalokiteśvara is more popular than Mañjuśrī, he is the second Bodhisattva mentioned in the Buddhist Scriptures, while Mañjuśrī is the first.

¹ v. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, pp. 410–411, where he is manifested as Vajrapāṇi.

² v. Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, Pl. xv.

³ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 98.

SIMHANADA-AVALOKITEŚVARA (or Simhanāda-Lokeśvara)

(The Lord with the voice of a lion).

Symbols: *padma* (lotus).
khaḍga (sword).
kapāla (skull-cup).
triśūla (trident).

Colour: white.

Simhanāda-Lokeśvara is a non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara invoked to cure leprosy. Northern Buddhists claim that the first success of Lamaism among the Mongols was due to the cure of a leprous king by means of the Simhanāda-sādhana.¹

The title 'Simhanāda' means 'with the voice of a lion', and was also applied to Śākya-muni and Mañjuśrī. Grünwedel believes that it may have reference to an ancient legend in which the roaring of a lion awakened still-born babes to life.²

In this form, Avalokiteśvara is seated sideways on a roaring lion that is generally crouching, with the head always turned upward toward the god. According to the *sādhana*, the god should be seated on a lotus which is supported by a lion, but he is often seated on a cushion instead of on the lotus-throne.

In this Simhanāda form, Avalokita is represented in his manifestation of Padma-pāṇi with one head and two arms. He wears all the Bodhisattva ornaments with a small image of Amitābha in the five-leaved crown. But the crown may be omitted, in which case his hair is drawn up into a mitre-shaped *ushnīsha* elaborately decorated with jewels, and on the left side of the head-dress is usually a half moon. Over the left shoulder there may be an antelope skin. The right leg is either pendent (in which case the right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*) or is in the attitude called 'royal ease', with the right knee raised and the right arm hanging loosely over the knee, the hand sometimes holding a rosary. In the latter attitude the left hand leans, behind the left knee, on the cushion (or lotus-throne), and holds the stem of a lotus-flower, which either supports a *kapāla* (skull-cup) out of which rises a sword, or the sword rises directly from the lotus-flower.³ In the latter case, the *kapāla* filled with flowers is at his left side, but is often missing. Behind the right arm may rise a trident, around which is coiled a cobra,⁴ but this also may be missing. In the bas-relief examples in Northern India there are usually emanations of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas.⁵

The Simhanāda-Lokeśvara seems to unite the form of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī—the idea evidently borrowed from an ancient Brahman custom, but although the sword, the pose, and the support indicate Mañjuśrī, the god is undoubtedly

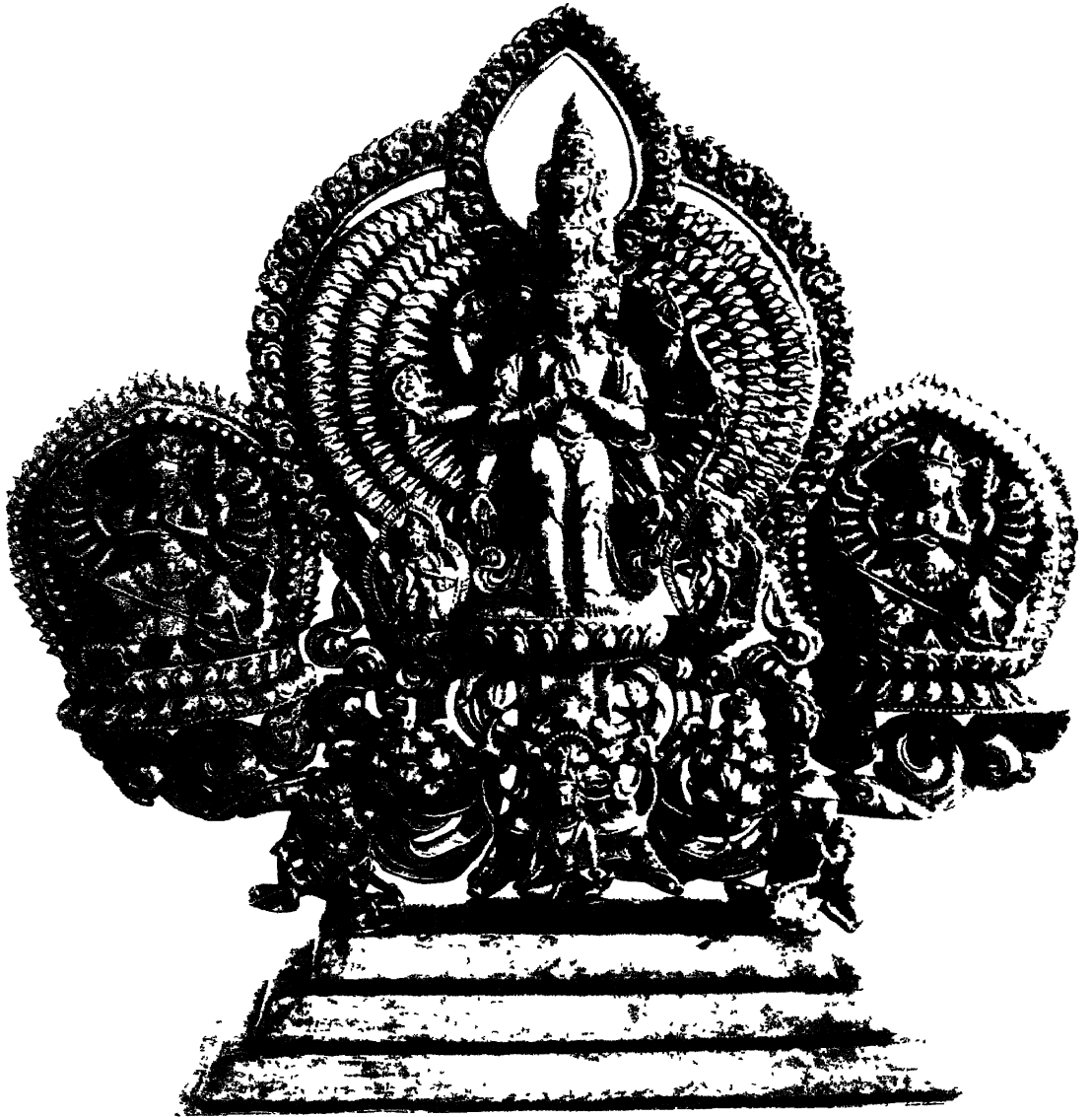
¹ v. *Sādhana*.

² *Mythologie bouddhique*, p. 180. According to Theobaldus in his *Physiologus*, when a lion is born it lies for three days as if dead, and is then awakened to life by the roarings of its sire, the lion.

³ (v. Pl. xxxv, fig. d.) v. Waddell, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1894, p. 77.

⁴ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, illus., p. 88.

⁵ v. *The Dhyāni Buddhas*.



ĀVALOKITEŚVARA '1,000 ARMS'

Padmapāṇi. According to the *sādhana*,¹ the five Dhyāni-Buddhas emanate from his body.

Avalokiteśvara is represented as Simhanāda in a simpler form, but is always a Lokeśvara (or Lokanātha), a prince wearing rich garments and many jewels. In this form he is seated on the lion support with his hands at his breast in *namahkāra mudrā* (devotional attitude). His hair is drawn up on his head in a high *ushnīsha*, mitre-shaped. His symbol, the rosary, is supported by a lotus-flower on a level with his right shoulder.

PADMAPĀṆI (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Lotus-bearer)

(Non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara).

(J.) *Shō Kwan-non*.

Colour : white [in Nepal, red].

Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument) and *vara* (charity).

Distinctive mark : small image of his

Special symbols : *padma* (lotus).

Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha, in his

kalāśa (vase).

crown.

Padmapāṇi is a non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara, and is supposed to create all animate things by command of his Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha. According to the system of Ādi-Buddha, he received from the Ādi-Buddha, through the medium of his spiritual father, Amitābha, the active power of creation, of which the lotus he holds in his hand is the symbol.

He is supposed to have created the actual world, which is the fourth, and, according to Hodgson, to have produced 'Brahmā, for creating; Viṣṇu, for preserving; Maheśa (Śiva), for destroying'.²

After the death of Gautama Buddha, Padmapāṇi is believed to have undertaken the work of propagation of Buddhism, until the creation of the fifth world by Viśvapāṇi, and it is probably for this reason that he is extremely popular in Tibet, and especially so in Japan, under the name of Shō Kwan-non.³ He is also said to be the favourite deity of the Nāgas (serpent gods).

Padmapāṇi is represented as a slight, graceful youth, and, being a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, is dressed like an Indian prince, with many ornaments. His hair is drawn up in a mitre-shaped *ushnīsha* behind the five-leaved crown, in which is a small image of Amitābha (his distinctive mark), but the crown may be missing, especially in the paintings.

In his earliest form he held the lotus-flower (his special symbol) indicated by his name; but in later representations the vase was added. The lotus-flower, however, was seldom represented in the vase, as in China and Japan.

According to his mantra, 'Ōm, maṇi padme, hūm !', he should carry a jewel; but such examples are very rare in Tibet, while in both China and Japan the *cintāmaṇi*

¹ v. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, ill., fig. 5, *sādhana*, p. 34.

² v. *Padmapāṇi*, with twelve emanations.

³ v. *Kwan-non*.

often figures as an accessory symbol carried by the Tantra forms of Avalokiteśvara, and the jewel and lotus are held as principal symbols by the Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non (when with six arms).

Padmapāṇi is generally represented standing, with his hands in 'argument' and 'charity' *mudrā*. The left hand in *vara mudrā* holds either the stem of a lotus-flower or the vase. When in the group of eight Bodhisattva, Padmapāṇi holds the stems of two lotus-flowers which support the vase and a rosary (symbol of Avalokiteśvara). When the vase is supported it usually has a spout like the libation *kalāśa* used in the Buddhist ceremonies. When carried in the hand it is held at the neck, and is round in shape if Indian, and oval or pointed if of the Gandhāra school.¹

Padmapāṇi may have an antelope skin over his left shoulder, and in this form, if the small image of Amitābha is missing from his crown and he holds the vase, he resembles a form of Maitreya, whose symbol is also the *kalāśa*. (v. *Maitreya*.)

In Ceylon small bronze figures of Padmapāṇi have been found, considered to be between the sixth and ninth centuries, where he is represented seated in the attitude called 'royal ease' (*rājahlā*) with the right or left foot pendent. The right hand may be in *vitarka*, *abhaya*, or *vara mudrā*, while the left, behind the left knee, rests on the throne, and usually holds the stem of a full-blown lotus-flower at the left shoulder (Pl. *xxi*, fig. *d*). This form is also found in China (Pl. *xxi*, fig. *b*), and closely resembles the Mahārājahlā-Maṅjuśrī, the difference being that he carries the full-blown rose lotus (*padma*) instead of the blue lotus with the petals closed (*utpala*), and has a small image of his Dhyāni-Buddha in his head-dress, which is unusual in the images of Maṅjuśrī.²

He sometimes accompanies the Dīpaṅkara Buddha, but he may himself have assistants to the number of four. In the latter case, the green Tārā is always at his right, and he is accompanied by Prajñāpāramitā (or Mārīcī) and the yellow Tārā, as well as by the god Hayagrīva. Padmapāṇi is also sometimes found in a triad with Maṅjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi.

In the Lamaist temple pictures he is white, while in the Nepalese paintings, according to M. Foucher, he is red, and the small image of Amitābha in his crown is generally omitted.

Another form of Padmapāṇi, seldom seen except in temple paintings, is called 'Defender of the Eight Dreads'.³ He is without the lotus and is painted white. In the museum at Colombo there is an image of Padmapāṇi, with a *kalāśa* above the forehead, in front of the *ushnīsha* and he may be represented with the *amṛita*, flowing from the *kalāśa*, on both sides of his head, and upon the assistant deities surrounding him.⁴

¹ v. *Kalāśa*, Glossary.

² Illustration, A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 43, and A. Coomaraswamy, 'Mahāyāna Buddhist Images from Ceylon,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and*

Ireland, April, 1909. v. Tibetan example, Pl. *xxx*, fig. *a*.

³ This form may be the origin of the Pa-nan or 'Kuan-yin of the Eight Sufferings'.

⁴ Getty collection.

PADMAPĀṆI

with emanations of twelve Bodhisattva (or 'crowned' Buddhas ?)

The bronze statue with emanations of twelve Bodhisattva (Pl. xxii) is, as far as the author knows, unique. It was purchased at Darjeeling, where, however, it was impossible to find any one who could give a satisfactory interpretation of its significance.¹

The difficulty in determining the signification of the Bodhisattva (or are they 'crowned' Buddhas ?) that emanate from the *ushnīṣha*, *ūrṇā*, ears, mouth, heart, navel, hands, and feet of the Padmapāṇi form of Avalokiteśvara is that there are no symbols or distinguishing *mudrā*. There are, however, several hypotheses which seem to explain, to a certain extent, the bronze.

1. Does it correspond with the eleven-headed form of Avalokiteśvara ?

The two emanations from the feet might be identified as Viṣṇu and Śiva, for it was often the custom of the Northern Buddhists to represent Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva at the feet of their gods. (Pl. xxiv.)

The ten Bodhisattva thus left are most difficult to identify, but may possibly correspond with the ten heads of Āryavalokiteśvara, whose normal head is counted as the eleventh.

If we accept the hypothesis that the form of Padmapāṇi with the ten emanations corresponds with the Ārya Pāla form of Avalokiteśvara (Ekadaśamukha), the upper 'crowned' Buddha emanating from the *ushnīṣha* would be his Dhyāni-Buddha, and the one underneath issuing from the *ūrṇā* the Mānushi-Buddha. There still remain eight Bodhisattva to identify.

The lower emanation on the left, issuing from the heart, has every appearance of being his consort, the white Tārā. The second, from the top to the left, with a musical instrument, resembles Sarasvatī; and the third, with the left leg pendent, is possibly the green Tārā. The rest seem impossible to identify. We know from the *sādhana*² that there was a form of Padmapāṇi called 'Padmanarteśvara', seated on an eight-petalled lotus, on each petal of which was a goddess, Tārā, Bhṛikuṭī, &c. Are then these eight emanations goddesses ?

2. Does it represent the 'vital breaths' ?

Ten of the twelve emanations might represent 'the ten vital breaths' (the five organs of sense and the five material elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether, of which man is composed). The eleventh emanation would then be the sixth sense which proceeded from the Dhyāni-Buddha, and is indicated in the bronze by the divinity above the forehead. The twelfth emanation would be the sixth element, the

¹ The *Amitāyur-dhyāna sūtra* has the following reference to the emanations of the Bodhisattva: 'Within the circle of light emanating from his whole body, appear, illuminated, the various forms and marks of all beings that live in the paths of existence' (i. e. men, gods, hell, departed spirits, the brute creation).

Mitra gives the following in his *Sanskrit Literature*: 'The merits of Avalokiteśvara may be counted by myriads. In one of the pores of his body, there are thousands of heavenly choristers; in another, millions of Rishis.' (p. 97.)

² A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 37.

mind (*manas*), which is believed to be a particle of the essence of Ādi-Buddha, and would be represented by the divinity emanating from the *ushnīsha* and placed above the Dhyāni-Buddha.

3. Does it represent the creation of the fourth world by Padmapāṇi?

In the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha* it is written that Padmapāṇi, at the command of Ādi-Buddha, produced, by the virtue of three *guṇas* (active principles), Brahmā, creator of *devas* and human beings; Viṣṇu, preserver; and Mahā Devā (Śiva), destroyer. From the Bodhisattva also emanated Vayū, the air; Prithivī, the earth; Varuṇa, the water on which the earth was believed to rest; Indra, who brought rain; Sūrya, the sun, and Candra, the moon, whose rays fructified the earth. Added to these were Sarasvatī, goddess of music and poetry, and Lakshmī, goddess of beauty. Yama was also among the *devas*, to punish sin; for although from Brahmā emanated virtue, from Śiva proceeded evil.

In a passage in the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha* these deities are made to *proceed from the body of Padmapāṇi*, and they are twelve in number.

In the *Guṇa-Kāraṇḍa Vyūha* is the following passage: 'From between his (Padmapāṇi's) shoulders sprang Brahmā; from his two eyes, the sun and the moon; from his mouth, the air; from his teeth, Sarasvatī; from his belly, Varuṇa; from his knees, Lakshmī; from his feet, the earth; from his navel, water; from the roots of his hair, the Indras and devatās.'¹

In the bronze the emanation from the shoulders has three heads; but the fourth, not showing behind the heads, may possibly have been omitted by the artist, in which case one could identify the Bodhisattva with Brahmā.

The *deva* emanating from the right foot and holding a mountain over the head may be easily identified with Prithivī, the earth, and the emanation from the teeth with Sarasvatī holding her lute. The *deva* with the serpent over the head, proceeding from the left foot, is evidently Varuṇa, water, but in the text Varuṇa proceeds from the navel.

None of the other emanations have anything to identify them either by way of a symbol or a *mudrā*, so that if we accept the hypothesis that the bronze represents the passage quoted above, we must look upon the emanation from the *ushnīsha* as Indra; from the forehead, as Śiva; from the eyes, Sūrya and Candra; from the mouth (to the right), Vāyu; from the left knee, Lakshmī; and from the emanation between Sarasvatī and Lakshmī (which may possibly proceed from the navel, although the bronze does not clearly indicate it), Yama.

Among the Nepalese paintings from the collection of B. H. Hodgson in the Library of the Institut de France, there is a temple painting representing Padmapāṇi (red) with *eleven* emanations, which closely follows the above text with the exception that in his crown is a small image of Amitābha in place of the twelfth emanation from the *ushnīsha* in the bronze. The painting is divided into three *loka*: celestial, terres-

¹ Hodgson. *The Languages, Literature, and Religions of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 88. The Japanese Buddhists have a group of twelve *devas* called

Jū-ni-ten which practically corresponds to this group.



a. LOKEŚVARA



b. PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ



c. 'UDAYANA' BUDDHA



d. AVALOKITEŚVARA

trial, and the underworld. From each finger of the right hand of Padmapāṇi is an emanation (?) that is located in the third *loka* and is, according to M. Foucher, a *prēta*.¹ These five personages, which are also represented in the pedestal of the bronze, resemble Germanic gnomes.

None of the hypotheses apply absolutely to the bronze, possibly because the artist did not follow tradition in every detail, and also, very probably, because the correct interpretation has not yet been found.

AVALOKITEŚVARA

Tantra form.

The first Tantra form of Avalokita appeared in Northern India after the founding of the Tantra school by Asaṅga about the middle of the sixth century A. D., and differs from the non-Tantra form in that there are four arms instead of two. The god is represented dressed in princely garments, with many ornaments. The hair is drawn up on the head, mitre-shaped, like the non-Tantra form, and the *ushṇīṣa* is often surmounted by a flaming pearl. There is generally a small image of his spiritual father, Amitābha, in his head-dress, especially when, later, the five-leaved Bodhisattva crown was added. The god is represented seated with the legs closely locked, and with the two original hands either against his breast in *namaḥkāra* (prayer) *mudrā*, resembling the attitude of Brahmā when repeating the Vedas, or in *dharmacakra mudrā* (Pl. XXI, fig. c). The hands, however, may clasp a jewel, symbolical of the *maṇi* (jewel) in his mantra: 'Om, maṇi padme, hūm !'² or hold a conch-shell, but these forms are very rare. The other two hands hold the rosary, and either the lotus or book. It is this form that is supposed to be incarnate in the Dalai-Lama at Lhasa.

There is another form with one head and four arms, but standing. The upper arms are against the breast in *namaḥkāra mudrā*, the lower are in *dhyāna mudrā* and hold the *pātra* (begging-bowl).

In the Bacot Collection at the Musée Guimet there is a small copper-gilt statue of Avalokiteśvara with one head and ten arms. The upper arms are raised, the hands in *añjali* (salutation) *mudrā*, over the head, and hold a small image which should be his Dhyāni-Buddha, but in this case resembles his *śakti*, Tārā. It cannot be Amitābha, as catalogued, for a part of the hair is drawn up into a mitre-shaped *ushṇīṣa*, while the rest hangs down the back, indicating a Bodhisattva. The right hand is in 'argument', the left in 'charity' *mudrā*. Against the right shoulder is a flowering branch. The left is pendent, indicating the green Tārā.

¹ *Catalogue des peintures népalaises et tibétaines de la collection B. H. Hodgson à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*, p. 26. According to M. Foucher, the *prētas* are receiving ambrosia from the finger-tips of Padmapāṇi, and there are three illustrations of this in the Nepalese MS. Add.

1643 in the University Library, Cambridge, where the ambrosia flows directly from his finger-tips into the mouths of personages or animals. v. Pl. IV, No. 28, Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*.

² v. Bacot Collection, Musée Guimet, Paris.

Avalokiteśvara may have four heads and twenty-four arms. There is a head on either side of the central head, and above them is the head of a Buddha, which may be his Mānushi-Buddha, Śākya-muni, for he holds his Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha, over his heads by his upper arms, in *añjali mudrā* (Pl. xxiii, fig. d).

There are many variations of these different Tantra forms of Avalokiteśvara, and one of them, called Amoghapāśa, holds a special emblem, the *pāśa* (lasso). He has one head and from six to eight arms, and besides his special symbol, the lasso, he holds the rosary, trident, ewer, &c., and may wear a tiger-skin. He is sometimes accompanied by the green Tārā, Sudhana-Kumāra, Hayagrīva, and Bhṛikuṭī.

There is another form of Amoghapāśa, with one head and twenty arms, which is seated (Pl. xxiii, fig. c). The normal arms are against his breast, in *namaḥkāra mudrā*; the arms underneath lie on the lap, the right hand holding the lasso, the left the rosary. The two upper hands are close to the head and hold cymbals, the next pair holds lotus buds, the next *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, and all the rest hold various symbols belonging to Avalokiteśvara.

There is an interesting bronze statue in Saigon in the collection of M. Holbé. The deity is represented seated with one head and nine pairs of arms. The lowest pair of arms holds a vase at each knee; the arms above lie on the lap in *dhyāna mudrā*. The normal arms are at the breast in 'prayer' *mudrā*. The top arms rise parallel with the head, each holding a sword; below these, the sun and moon; while the others hold chopper and bell, lotus-buds, and Tantric symbols. There is a frontal eye, and Avalokiteśvara has the usual crown and many ornaments.

The Dogmatic Form of Avalokiteśvara (Nāmasaṅgīti?) (Pl. xx).

In this form he has one head, twelve arms, and is seated with the legs firmly locked. He wears all the Bodhisattva ornaments, and his *uśnīṣa*, behind the five-leaved crown, is surmounted by a half *vajra*, above which the hands of the uppermost pair of arms make the 'lotus' *mudrā*. The author has been unable to find the Sanskrit name of this gesture, and will designate it as the *padma mudrā*,¹ which is made in the following manner: the middle and index fingers are stretched upward and touch at the tips; the ring and little fingers are locked (finger-tips underneath); the thumbs are upright and pressed against each other.²

The hands of the next two pairs of arms hang over the shoulders, in *vitarka mudrā*, and, from their position, evidently held symbols—presumably the rosary and lotus-flower. The hands of the original arms are in *abhaya mudrā*.

The hands of the arms directly underneath are in a *mudrā* which, according to the *Dharmakośa samgraha*, is called *kṣehana* or sprinkling of nectar from a vessel. The position of the hands is reversed from those above the head, that is to say that the

¹ Called by the Japanese *rengē-no-in* (v. Glossary) or the '*mudrā* of the lotus'.

² The middle fingers symbolize the element fire, and in this position represent the flame which is the symbol of Ādi-Buddha. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 148, quotes a *sādhana*

from the *Dharmakośa samgraha* that applies in every detail to this deity with the exception of the above *mudrā*, which according to the *sādhana* should be *añjali* (v. Glossary, and Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie i, p. 69). The deity in the *sādhana* is called Nāmasaṅgīta.

indexes and middle fingers are stretched downward instead of upward, and the tips of the latter descend into the vase held by the hands underneath, in *dhyāna mudrā*. This position is most unusual, and represents the dominant principle of the Yogāchārya school : the Mystic Union. The hands, in 'lotus' *mudrā*, symbolize the *Vajradhātu*, and the vase the *Garbhadhātu*—the union of the Spiritual and the Material or the Two Parts (v. Glossary—*Vajra*, *Vajradhātu*, *Garbhadhātu*). The author sees no reason why this form may not be called Nāmasaṅgī Avalokiteśvara, especially as it holds the vase.

ĀRYĀVALOKITEŚVARA (Ārya-Pāla)

or Ekadaśamukha

(Eleven-headed).

(T.) *hp'ags-pa spyan-ras-geigs* (the sublime (divinity of) penetrating (and) charming vision).

(M.) *ariabalo* (corruption of the Sanskrit).

(J.) *Jū-ichi-men* (eleven-headed) *Kwan-non*.

Mudrā : *namaḥkara* (prayer).

Colour : white (but may be yellow).

Distinctive mark : eleven heads.

Avalokiteśvara, in his manifestation with eleven heads, is *Samantamukha* or the 'All-sided One'—the god who looks in every direction to save all creatures.

There are several versions of the legend explaining his eleven heads, but they all resolve themselves into the following : Avalokiteśvara, the All-Pitying One, descended into hell, converted the wicked, liberated them, and conducted them to Sukhāvātī, the paradise of his spiritual father, Amitābha.

He discovered, however, to his dismay, that for every culprit converted and liberated, another instantly took his place, and legend claims that his head split into ten pieces from grief and despair on discovering the extent of wickedness in the world, and the utter hopelessness of saving all mankind. Amitābha caused each piece to become a head, and placed the heads on the body of his spiritual son, Avalokiteśvara, in three tiers of three, with the tenth head on top and his own image above them all. Thus, the 'On-looking Lord' was endowed with twenty-two eyes instead of two, to see all suffering, and eleven brains instead of one, to concentrate on the best means of saving mankind.

Monier Williams claims that the three tiers of heads indicate that Avalokiteśvara looks down on the three worlds : world of desire, world of true form, and world of no form. According to Eitel, the three groups of heads represent the triad Avalokita, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi, for in this form of Ārya-Pāla he always carries a book and a thunderbolt, symbols of Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi. Statues were found in the Magadha which combine these three gods,¹ and there are descriptions of this form in the Nepalese *sādhana*, where the Simhanādalokeśvara is mentioned as being seated on a lion with the sword (Mañjuśrī's symbol) on a lotus at his left, and a *vajra*-shaped trident, around which is coiled a snake, at his right, indicating Vajrapāṇi. The form

¹ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, illustr., p. 33.

is, however, looked upon as Avalokiteśvara. Griffis claims that these three gods were originally one divinity, and that the qualities attributed to this deity, of Mercy, Wisdom, and Force, were personified later in the forms of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi.

But the signification of the eleven heads may go back farther than the Buddhist legend. We have seen that Avalokita has much in common with Śiva, who is a development of the Vedic god Rudra.

In the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* there is reference to a group of eleven Rudras which represent the 'ten vital breaths with the heart as the eleventh' (Dawson). This seems to correspond with the ten heads of Ārya-Pāla, with his spiritual father, Amitābha, as the eleventh.

In the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* there is also a description which applies closely to the Ārya-Pāla form : Rudra is born from a wrinkle in the forehead of Brahmā, separates into male and female, and multiplies into eleven persons, 'some of which are white and gentle and others black and furious'.¹ These are evidently the eleven Rudras quoted above, and correspond with the painted forms of Ārya-Pāla, for the first row of heads of Āryāvalokiteśvara are white and of a sweet expression, the second row are yellow and smiling, while the third row are dark blue and of angry expression. The tenth head and the head of Amitābha are calm in expression, but there are examples of the Bodhisattva in which only the tenth head shows anger.

Āryāvalokiteśvara may have from six to '1,000' arms approximately, and '1,000' eyes are in his hands (*ch'ien shou* 千手, *ch'ien-yen* 千眼). The original ones, in most of the examples, are against the breast, the hands usually making the devotional *mudrā*, but they may also be in *dharmacakra mudrā* (turning the Wheel of the Law), and below them are hands in *dhyāna mudrā*, sometimes holding an ambrosia vase. The other hands hold the rosary, wheel, &c. The upper arms may be raised above the head, in *añjali* (salutation) *mudrā*, holding the image of Amitābha over the ten heads. This form has usually twenty-two arms (Pl. xxiii, fig. a).

Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads is sometimes represented with thousands of arms, which radiate around him, forming an aura ; but the original pair is always at his breast, in 'prayer' or 'teaching' *mudrā*, and several of the hands hold his special symbols. If there is an eye on the palm of each hand, he is called 'of 1,000 eyes', which means that the eyes of Avalokita are ever on the outlook for those in distress and carry with them a succouring hand. The various symbols he may carry are : book, vase, jewel, *vajra*, begging-bowl, wheel, &c., and one of the hands is usually making *varā* (charity) *mudrā*. Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva are sometimes represented at the feet of the Bodhisattva (Pl. xxiv).

An image of Āryāvalokiteśvara, belonging to M. Deniker, has many arms radiating, even from the legs.

*Forms of Avalokiteśvara from Sādhana.*²

I. Avalokita as a Buddha is seated, legs closely locked, hands in *dhyāna mudrā*.

¹ Dawson, *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*.

² A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*. v. Glossary, *Sādhana*.



Drawing from the *Monuments et Mémoires* publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot), vol. xvii, fasc. ii, 1910

PLATE XXVI



KUAN-YIN (SUNG-TZŪ)

He is white, has the *ūrṇā*, but not the *ushnīṣa*, and his monastic garment is red.¹ According to the *sādhana*, it is his Chinese manifestation, Kuan-yin.

II. Simhanāda-Lokeśvara. He is white, and has one head and three eyes. He is seated in the attitude called 'royal ease', with the right knee raised, on a roaring lion, and has a tiger-skin covering. In his crown is a small image of Amitābha. Five Buddhas emanate from him. He has two arms. The left hand, resting on the throne, holds the stem of a lotus, from which rises a sword (Mañjuśrī's emblem). The right arm rests on his right knee, and behind it is a trident around which is coiled a snake. (v. Pl. xxxv, fig. d.)

III. Nīlakaṇṭhāryāvalokiteśvara. Human form seated on an antelope-skin on a red lotus. In his head-dress is a small image of Amitābha. His hands are in *dhyāna mudrā*, holding a skull of jewels. He wears the Brahmanical cord, and his covering is a tiger-skin. He has no jewels. His colour is yellow and his throat is blue.²

IV. Trailokyavaśāṅkara-Lokeśvara. Human form with third eye. Is seated on a red lotus, à l'indienne, and holds the lasso with a half *vajra* at each end and an elephant-goad. His colour is red.

V. Hariharivāhanobdhava-Lokeśvara-Avalokita is seated on Viṣṇu, who is seated on Garuḍa, who is supported by a lion.³

VI. Rakta-Lokeśvara. He has one head and four arms, and is represented seated under an *aśoka*-tree. His symbols are : lasso, elephant-goad, bow, arrow. His colour is red.

VII. Padmanarteśvara. He may be human, or have eighteen arms. His normal ones embrace his *śakti*. He is seated on a lotus with eight petals, with a divinity on each petal—Tārā, Bhṛikuṭī, &c. If he has eighteen arms, he has only four assistants, among which are Hayagrīva.

VIII. Māyājālakramāryāvalokiteśvara, or 'he that passes through the net of illusion'. He has five heads, each with a third eye. The two on the right are white and red, the two on the left are yellow and green. He is black, as well as the central head. His twelve hands hold : a *kapāla*, lasso, *vajra*, *ratna*, lotus, &c., and his normal ones hold the bow and arrow.

IX. Hālāhala⁴-Lokeśvara. He has three heads, each with a third eye. The one to the right is blue, to the left red, and the centre one is white. In his chignon is an image of Amitābha and a crescent. He has many ornaments, and has a tiger-skin for covering. He has six arms, and his symbols are : rosary, lotus, bow and arrow, &c. He is seated on a red lotus, and holds his *śakti* on his left knee, the right being stretched out. There is a trident, round which is circled a serpent to the right, and a lotus supporting a skull filled with flowers to the left. His colour is white.

¹ The *śramaṇa* of the White Horse Temple, at Loh-yang, China, wore red robes during the Han dynasty. Parker, *Studies in Chinese Religion*. Pelliot tells us that red was the colour worn by all Buddhist priests in China.

² Śiva's throat became blue after drinking the poison *Hālā-hala* to save mankind.

³ This form is found in India with Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, who stands on a turtle, with a dwarf, one of the *avatārs* of Viṣṇu, between his legs. For legend v. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. i, p. 324.

⁴ The *Hālā-hala* is the poison which was churned from the ocean by Viṣṇu.

X. Sitātapatrā, 'Revered One of the White Umbrella'. He has eleven heads disposed in the usual way, in three groups of three, surmounted by two heads, one above the other. He has twelve arms carrying Tantric and non-Tantric symbols, and is seated with the legs locked.¹

XI. According to a *sādhana* in the *Sādhanamāla* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, Avalokiteśvara (Lokaṇāth) is to be conceived of in a *maṇḍala*, seated in the *lalita* attitude, enthroned in the centre of a lotus-flower, with the goddess Tārā at his right and the Dharmapāla Hayagrīva at his left. On the eight petals of the lotus are seated the Bodhisattvas : Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Viṣṭakambhin, Samantabhadra, Manjuḥyosha, and Gaganagañja, who all have the hands in *varada mudrā* except Kṣitigarbha, whose right hand is in *abhaya mudrā*. The gods are accompanied by eight goddesses, of which four guard the four Gates.¹

¹ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie i, p. 110 ; Pl. v, fig. 5.

FORMS OF LOKEŚVARA IN INDO-CHINA AND SIAM

TABLE VII.

Champa . .	{	I. Stone
		II. Bronze
		III. Ex-votos in clay
Cambodia .	{	I. Pré-khmer
		II. Bas-reliefs at Bantăy Čhmăr
		III. Lokeśvara at . {
		{ Āṅkor Thom
		{ Nāk Pân
	{	Bayon
		IV. Lokeśvara ‘irradiant’
		V. Monoliths
Annam . .		I. Lokeśvara—gilt bronze
Siam . . .		I. Lokeśvara—bronze

LOKEŚVARA

(Lord of the World).

ĀVALOKITEŚVARA, almost exclusively referred to in Indo-China as 'Lokeśvara', was the object of a flourishing cult in both Champa and Cambodia during the ninth and tenth centuries of our era.

In Champa, according to the inscriptions, important monasteries and sanctuaries such as that of Dong-du'ong were put under his patronage ; while in Cambodia, no inscriptions have yet been found in any important monument proving its dedication to Lokeśvara. The frequency, however, with which his image is met with, especially at Bantăy Ćhmār, Ānkor Thom, and at Nāk Pân, seems to prove that they, also, were placed under his protection. There is no mention, however, of Lokeśvara in the inscriptions which invoke the Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Vajrapāṇi at Bāt Cūm, where three Buddhist sanctuaries were founded in the tenth century, but at Bantay Nān¹ an inscription, also of the tenth century, refers to the erection of a statue of Lokeśvara, and reads as follows : ' Brilliant is Lokeśvara, who has placed on his head the Jina of Infinite Light (Amitābha) as if he had seen that the sun and moon had but a Finite Light.'

The representations of Lokeśvara in Champa as well as in Cambodia were either in human or super-human form, that is, influenced by the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. In Champa, Lokeśvara is represented with one head and rarely more than eight arms, while in Cambodia he may have as many as sixteen heads and sixteen arms holding Tantric as well as non-Tantric symbols.

In both Champa and Cambodia, Lokeśvara is generally represented with the breast bare. The short *dhota* is drawn tightly around his waist and held by an ornate belt. He wears a necklace, bracelets, and ear-rings. Behind his crown, his hair is drawn into a high chignon encased in a stiff, closely woven covering or *mukuta*,² which is one of the distinctive features of the Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas in Indo-China. Against the chignon, a little higher than the crown, is seated his Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha. He may have a third eye, which is seldom found in Tibet or Nepal and never in China or Japan.

In Champa, the stone figures of Lokeśvara have rarely more than two arms, and hold the lotus and vase. The bronze figures on the contrary have generally from four to eight arms and hold a lotus, vase, conch, shell, rosary, &c.

Small clay votive offerings were found in Champa representing Lokeśvara seated in 'royal ease' attitude. He may have as many as four arms, but the head leans on one of the normal arms.

The earliest example of Cambodian art is an Indo-Khmer stone statue of Lokeśvara

¹ v. Finot, *Lokeśvara en Indo-Chine*, p. 237 and note 1; and v. Kern, *Invocation d'une inscription bouddhique*, p. 12.

² v. Glossary.

which is now in Saigon.¹ He is represented standing, with the arms hanging at the sides. The left hand holds a lotus, while the right is open with a full-blown lotus indicated *on the palm*.² Behind the crown, the hair is drawn into a complicated chignon on which is seated the Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha, surrounded by a glory which merges into the nimbus behind the head of the Bodhisattva.

Lokeśvara is also found in bas-reliefs such as the eight representations at Bantāy Čhmār, where he is figured with from one to eight heads and from two to sixteen arms, holding Tantric as well as non-Tantric symbols : lotus, vase, book, rosary, disk, elephant goad, sword, *vajra*, &c.³

There are several examples of Lokeśvara at Añkor-Thom, as well as at Nāk Pân, where he is represented on the false doors of the Sanctuary with one head, two arms,⁴ and with the image of Amitābha against his high chignon. The symbols he carries are unfortunately broken, but were probably the lotus-bud and vase.

Comparatively recently, a Lokeśvara was discovered at the temple of Bayon by Mr. Parmentier which has changed all the theories in regard to the temple. Having the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha figured against his chignon, he is indisputably Lokeśvara. He has four arms holding the lotus, vase, rosary, and book. A necklace of four rows of beads crosses at his breast and passes under his arms. He wears a most ornate belt with pendants above his short *dhoti*, and is surrounded by four *apsaras* (v. Finot, *Lokeśvara*, Pl. xx).

The most puzzling form of Lokeśvara, found in Cambodia both in stone and in bronze, is called 'irradiant', i.e. emanating innumerable small Buddhas.⁵ He is always figured standing, and has one head, a third eye, and eight arms. His body, bare to the waist, is *entirely covered with small Buddhas*, of which all are in *dhyāna mudrā* except the one in the centre of his breast and three at his waist line, both at the front and the back. They carry symbols which are held just above the knees, but on none of them known as yet can the symbols be distinguished except on the Lokeśvara found at Phnom Dei in the jungle, not far from Añkor-Thom, which the author had the privilege of studying.⁶ The deity figured on the back of the Lokeśvara holds incontestably the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* : is it then a Vajrasattva ?

On the five toes of each foot are seated five Buddhas in *dhyāna mudrā* ; or else the Buddhas are arranged as bracelets and anklets.

Each curl of the hair of the 'irradiant' Buddha is in form of a Buddha. He has no crown, but a larger sized Buddha than the others is seated before his chignon. Were it not for the presence of other divinities than Amitābha Buddha, one would be inclined to believe that the innumerable small Buddhas were but the multiplication of the larger Buddha on the head—in other words, an attempt to intensify the

¹ v. Finot, *Lokeśvara en Indo-Chine*, Pl. i. Collection of Mr. Nguyen-hu'u-Hao.

² Which denotes an esoteric representation.

³ v. Finot, *Lokeśvara en Indo-Chine*, p. 240, Pl. xvii.

⁴ Parmentier believes that there were originally two other arms which have disappeared.

⁵ Royal palace at Pnom Penh and Brahman temple at Bankok. v. Finot, *Lokeśvara*, Pl. xix, and G. Coedès, *Bronzes Khmers*, p. 47, Plates xxxii and xxxiii.

⁶ Thanks to the kindness of M. H. Marchal, Conservateur du Groupe d'Añkor.

reflection of Amitābha which is none other than Lokeśvara himself.¹ Until the identification of the deities represented on the breast and around the waist are definitely determined, one can but reserve one's opinion.

The 'irradiant' form of Lokeśvara is also found in small bronzes of Khmer origin. He is always figured with eight arms, and carries the same symbols as the stone representations. The *ūrṇā* is on his forehead and he has no crown, but his hair is drawn up into a very high chignon encased in a *mukutā* with a small image of Amitābha in front of it. The body is not entirely covered with small Buddhas, but in the centre of the breast and around the waist above the belt are either dancing figures or else the same deities which are not yet identified on the stone figures of the 'irradiant' Lokeśvara. Around the neck, in both examples, is a collar of Dhyāni-Buddhas, and bracelets, anklets, and toe rings of Buddhas ornament the arms and legs. On the palm of the right normal hand is figured a full-blown lotus-flower, while the left probably held a lotus-bud. There are no large statues of the 'irradiant' Buddha in bronze.

In Western Cambodia, a series of monoliths were found which are square in shape with niches on each of the four sides. In several of these, we find the Lokeśvara figured in the usual form with from two to four (or even eight) arms holding the lotus, rosary, vase, and book, or the hands in *varada mudrā*. But in Thma Puok² a monolith was found which up to the present time is alone of its kind. Like the other monoliths it is square in shape, but above the principal row of niches are four tiers of niches each smaller than the one underneath it. In the top, a fifth niche may be missing, for it keeps its square shape and there is no indication of a lotus or other symbol having topped the monolith.

In one of the arcaded niches of the first row, Lokeśvara is figured wearing an unusual *mukuta* of five tiers. He has no Dhyāni-Buddha on his head, but in the niche above is Amitābha Buddha, and above the Dhyāni-Buddha are three other Dhyāni-Buddhas in niches one above the other.

Do the five tiers of his *mukuta* symbolize the five Dhyāni-Buddhas?³ In that case we may suppose that a fifth Dhyāni-Buddha originally completed the group, and the whole may have been surmounted by a lotus or *cintāmaṇi*.

Lokeśvara is figured in practically every monolith in Indo-China. He is often represented with only one deity, his feminine counterpart, Prajñāpāramitā; or in a triad with the Buddha and Prajñāpāramitā, while a ferocious form of Vajrapāṇi is sometimes added to the trio.

In Siam, where Lokeśvara was particularly popular, many examples of small bronze figures of the deity have been found, especially in the northern provinces.

His usual representation is with four arms, but he may have two or even six. He wears a crown, and his hair is encased in the *mukuta* with his Dhyāni-Buddha seated against it. The *dhoti* is very short and is held in place by a belt; and

¹ None of the Buddhist texts referring to the emanations from Avalokiteśvara apply to this form of the Bodhisattva.

² Finot, *Lokeśvara*, Pl. xxiv, and B. E. F. E. O.

xxv, Pl. xxxi.

³ In the *Simhanāda-sādhana* it is written that the five Buddhas emanate from the Lokeśvara. v. Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 34.

he wears an ornate necklace, and heavy earrings, bracelets, and anklets. On his forehead is the *ūrṇā*. In his four hands he carries : right, rosary and lotus-bud ; left, book and lotus-bud.¹

In Annam, about 900 A.D. the temple at Dai-Hü'u, according to an inscription, was dedicated to Ratna-Lokeśvara, and a statue in silver of the deity was erected in the Sanctuary.

When the Rev. Father H. de Pirey discovered this temple, a gilt bronze image of Lokeśvara was found which, according to Finot,² may possibly be the statue to which the inscription refers.

Another small image in bronze of Lokeśvara was discovered at the same time. The head is missing, but the characteristic symbol of Lokeśvara, the vase, is in the left hand.

In the tower of one of the sanctuaries was found a stone statue of a female divinity, bare to the waist and without symbols in the hands ; she wears no crown, but in front of the high chignon is *the image of a Dhyāni-Buddha*, which thus seems to indicate a feminine form of Lokeśvara.³

Many bronze statuettes that resemble the above feminine divinity have been found in Indo-China. They are figured bare to the waist, with the *sarong* hanging almost to the ankles, held in place by an ornate belt. The two hands hold each a lotus-bud. The hair is held in the *mukūṭa*, but there is rarely the Dhyāni-Buddha in the crown or against the *mukūṭa*. (Pl. xxv, fig. b.)

According to inscriptions on several of these statues, the goddess is called Prajñā-pāramitā ; but when this same form has the Dhyāni-Buddha on its head-dress, is it also Prajñāpāramitā ? As this goddess was evidently worshipped in Indo-China as the feminine counterpart of Lokeśvara, who had chosen the goddess Tārā for his consort in all the other Mahāyānist countries, we must wait until an inscription is found which will solve the problem of their invariable presence together on the Buddhist monoliths in Indo-China.

¹ v. Pl. xxv, fig. a ; also Coedès, Pl. xxv, figs. 1 and 2.

² *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, xxv.

³ *Ars Asiatica*, Parmentier, *Les Sculptures Châmes au Musée de Touranne*, Pl. xi.

FORMS OF KUAN-SHIH-YIN

TABLE VIII

Kuan-shih-yin	I. Two arms.	I. Holds child. With or without acolytes. With or without dragon.	Sung-tzū (feminine).	
		II. On lotus holding willow branch or <i>kalāśa</i> . Or rolls of prayers. Or hands making <i>dhyāna mudrā</i> .		Kuan-yin (feminine).
		III. <i>a.</i> Represented on the sea. <i>b.</i> Represented on a cloud.		
		IV. Seated on a lion.	Kuan-yin Simhanāda (feminine).	
		V. Group of eight Kuan-yin (masculine or feminine).		Pa-nan.
		VI. Group of thirty-two Kuan-yin (masculine).	San-shih-ēr-h-siang.	
		VII. Kuan-yin with crown of eight heads called 'eight-faced' (masculine).		
	II. More than two arms.	I. Kuan-yin with ten arms (feminine).	Kuan-yin Simhanāda (feminine).	
		II. Kuan-yin with eighteen arms (masculine).		
		III. 1,000 armed Kuan-yin (masculine or feminine).		
	III.	Japanese form : Kwan-non.		
	IV.	Legend of Miao Shan.		
	V.	Legend of Hārītī.		

KUAN-SHIH-YIN

(S.) *Avalokiteśvara*. (J.) *Kwan-ze-on* (*Kwan-non*).

Symbols: Vase, willow branch, bird, rosary of pearls,
mo-yü (木魚) or 'wooden fish-head drum'.¹

'KUAN-TZŪ-TSAI' and 'Kuan-shih-yin' were both used in early Chinese texts as translations of the Sanskrit term *Avalokiteśvara*. Kumārajīva favoured the word *Kuan-shih-yin*, and used it exclusively when he translated a chapter of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* into Chinese in the fifth century A.D. There is, however, a divergence of opinion in regard to the use of the term in his translation of the title *Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva samantamukha*. Paul Pelliot tells us that 'Kuan-shih-yin' is unquestionably the Chinese version of 'Avalokiteśvara'; while others are of the opinion that it is the translation of 'Samantamukha', his title, which may mean 'universally manifested voices'.² According to Edkins³ the literal translation may be thus interpreted: *kuan* (looks on), *shih* ('the region' of sufferers), *yin* (whose 'voices' of many tones, all acknowledging misery and asking salvation, touch the heart of the pitiful Bodhisattva). This interpretation seems to be confirmed by Beal when he tells us that the term *vac* (voice) is met with in certain Buddhist texts as the equivalent of 'Kuan-yin';⁴ while Hodgson gives as one of the titles of Padmapāni 'Vagāśvara' or the 'Voice-Lord', i.e., he who diffuses the Eternal Word.

The worship of *Avalokiteśvara* was introduced into China during the Han dynasty towards the end of the first century A.D. Fa Hsien worshipped him in the fifth century, and by the sixth century the god of Mercy was worshipped in all the Buddhist temples. In the seventh century he was still popular, for Hsüan Tsang speaks of him with enthusiasm; and by the twelfth he was practically forgotten, except in monasteries and temples where precedence demanded his presence.

But in spite of his popularity in China during several centuries, the Indian Buddhist priests were unable to impose the Sanskrit name of their god on the Chinese, and *Avalokiteśvara* was exclusively worshipped as 'Kuan-yin', god of Mercy.

The quality of 'mercy', however, seems to have appealed to the Chinese as feminine rather than masculine, for a goddess of Mercy, believed to be the feminine manifestation of *Avalokiteśvara*, made her appearance and drew many worshippers.⁵

When, later, the title 'Giver of Sons' (*Sung-tzū*) was added to that of 'Mercy', the goddess *Kuan-yin* acquired a popularity that defied all Indian Buddhist influence and has lasted up to the present day, in China as well as in Japan.

There are no records by which one can determine the earliest appearance of the

¹ v. Glossary.

² M. de la Vallée Poussin gives as translation 'The All-sided One'. v. Beal, *Catena*, pp. 388-387.

³ *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 382.

⁴ Beal, *Catena*, p. 385.

⁵ The *Sung Kuan-yin* are usually female in appearance, whereas the *T'ang Kuan-yin* are unquestionably male.



a. KUAN-YIN (SUNG-TZŪ)



b. KUAN-YIN



c. KUAN-YIN



d. KUAN-YIN

female form of Kuan-yin in China, and hence much divergence of opinion in regard to her origin.

An inscription in Nepal which dates from the end of the eighth century A. D. gives the names of various manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, one of which, especially recommended to the female devotees for worship, is that of *Śakti*, evidently a form of Avalokiteśvara personifying the cosmic Female Energy. De la Vallée Poussin concludes from this¹ that Avalokiteśvara was possibly worshipped in India in female form before his introduction into China.

The earliest forms of Avalokiteśvara in China show strong Indian influence, and were either modelled on the type of the Bodhisattva found at Takht-i-Bahi, seated in the attitude called 'royal ease', or on the Padmapāṇi type, standing, dressed in princely garments and wearing many ornaments. In his left hand is usually a lotus-bud, and he may also hold a vase or a *mo-yü* (v. Glossary).

Kuan-yin, in his Padmapāṇi form, may have eight heads disposed in two tiers of four, which possibly indicate the group of eight Bodhisattvas called the 'Pa-nan' Kuan-yin or the Kuan-yin of the 'Eight Perils'. The Chinese seldom adopted the Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads disposed in the Tibetan manner; but their form of Kuan-yin called 'Ch'ien shou' and 'Ch'ien yen' ('thousand-armed' and 'thousand-eyed'), which was most popular in China, resembles closely the 'thousand-armed' Avalokiteśvara in Tibet. In this form he is always standing.

There are two groups of the male Kuan-yin. One is composed of thirty-two metamorphoses² called the 'Kuan-yin san-shih-êrh-hsiang' or the 'thirty-two images of Kuan-yin'. They usually accompany an important deity and are all standing, modelled on the Padmapāṇi type and differing little from each other.

The second group is called the 'Pa-nan' Kuan-yin, and is composed of eight metamorphoses which the Bodhisattva assumes for the purpose of saving mankind from the 'eight kinds of danger'.

The most ancient form of the female Kuan-yin is probably the feminine form of Padmapāṇi, non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara, i. e., standing, with only one head and two arms; but up to the present time no irrefutable proof has solved the problem of the first appearance of the goddess of Mercy in China.

According to Edkins,³ the female form of Kuan-yin did not appear until after the twelfth century; i. e., eleven centuries after the introduction of the male form in China. R. F. Johnston considers that there is 'ample evidence' proving that the female Kuan-yin was known in China before the twelfth century.⁴ Paul Pelliot admits the presence of the female form as early as the eleventh century; while Foucher⁵ is of the opinion that the female Kuan-yin may have been known in China about the seventh century; and Fenollosa corroborates this⁶ when he describes the painting of

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 260.

² Group which corresponds to the 'Thirty-three Kwan-non' in Japan.

³ *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 382.

⁴ *Buddhist China*, p. 136, and P. Bose, *The Indian Teachers in China*, p. 32.

⁵ *Madone Bouddhique*, p. 205.

⁶ *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. i, pp. 105, 124.

a female Kuan-yin by the Chinese artist, Yen Li-pen, who lived in the seventh century. At any rate, we know that in the T'ang dynasty there was a form of Avalokiteśvara called the 'Sung-tzū Kuan-yin' who was looked upon as 'Dispenser of Fecundity' and for whom there was a special cult for those desiring children.¹ Peri believes that the Sung-tzū Kuan-yin was primitively the male form of Avalokiteśvara, who was represented with a child in the arms as symbol of his special quality of Giver of Children. The transition of the male to the female form with its flowing robes was a natural sequence.

There were two distinct manifestations of the female Kuan-yin in China. The most ancient form is probably that which shows Indian influence and is represented as a Bodhisattva, wearing many ornaments and the usual crown, in which there may be an image of Amitābha. As a rule she is figured seated with the legs locked, but she may be sitting sideways on a lion (*śiṃhanāda*), in which case either the right or left leg may be pendant (Pl. xxxiv, fig. d). Her hands are usually in *varada* and *abhaya mudrās* or both forming *dhyāna mudrā*. The female form of Kuan-yin may be distinguished from the male by the presence of a bird, which is almost always at the left, while at the right is the vase common to both forms.

The second manifestation of the female Kuan-yin in China may be traced back through Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir into India, and possibly originates in the Indian goddess Hārītī (v. Hārītī). At any rate, if we regard the temple banner of Hārītī found by Herr von Le Coq at Turfan² which dates from before the eighth century, we must admit that it is not unlike the type adopted by the Chinese for their Sung-tzū Kuan-yin. They both wear the same close-fitting robe, which is red in colour in the painting of Hārītī referred to above and is often red in paintings of the Sung-tzū Kuan-yin as well as in the Chinese statues in porcelain (v. Pl. xxvi). They both hold the child, but in China the child is never offered the breast.

Hārītī lost her quality of 'Giver of Children' when her cult reached China, and was looked upon as merely a *Yakṣa* goddess, invoked to cure disease. She was practically never worshipped outside of the monasteries, or of the group of twenty deities, while Avalokiteśvara, who took over the title of 'Giver of Sons', was a great Bodhisattva with a flourishing cult and his quality of 'Sung-tzū' based on the *sūtra Sad-dharma Puṇḍarīka*, of which the text is the following: 'If a woman, desirous of male offspring . . . adores the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, she shall get a son . . . ; or desirous of getting a daughter . . . a girl shall be born to her . . . such is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara.'

Thus the form of the child-bearing goddess, which possibly entered China from Chinese Turkestan, represented with the child in the arms (Pl. xxvi) or on the lap (Pl. xxix, figs. b, c), took over Hārītī's title of 'Giver of Children' (觀音與童子). It does not however represent, as often supposed, the mother and child. The child is only a symbol, and in the earlier examples is held stiffly by the goddess. In this form she is figured with flowing garments, and a drapery usually falls from her high head-dress,

¹ Peri, *Hārītī, la Mère-de-Démons*, p. 68.

² v. illus. opposite Pl. xxvi, and v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, and Foucher, *Madone Bouddhique*.

against which there may be the image of Amitābha. (Pl. xxvii, fig. a, and Pl. xxix, fig. b.) Later, the Sung-tzū Kuan-yin adopted the two symbols of the Northern Buddhist form, the vase and the dove,¹ thus merging the two manifestations into one.

The form of the goddess, which seems inexplicable if one does not accept the legend of Miao-shan² as its origin, is represented seated, her hands in 'meditation' *mudrā* holding the flaming pearl or with the hands in 'prayer' *mudrā*. She is accompanied by two acolytes, which are surely Shen-ts'ai and Lung-nü. Underneath her lotus-throne is the dragon (v. Legend of Miao-shan; v. Pl. xxvii, figs. a, c).

In this group she may have three different representations :

1. She takes the form of Padmapāṇi, non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara (two arms), and holds the flaming pearl.
2. She is represented in the Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara with many arms. Her normal hands are in 'prayer' *mudrā*, while two hands may be lying on her lap in 'meditation' *mudrā*. In this form she is always seated, while the masculine form of Kuan-yin with a thousand arms is always standing. All the other arms are outstretched, holding various Buddhist symbols, and she is either represented with the head drapery or wearing the Bodhisattva crown (Pl. xxvii, figs. a and b).
3. She is represented in flowing garments with the drapery over her high head-dress, against which may be a small image of her Dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha, or she may wear a crown. She holds the flaming pearl in her hands, lying on her lap in 'meditation' *mudrā* (v. Pl. xxvii, fig. b).

In this group she may hold the child instead of the flaming pearl, in which case her disciple, Lung-nü, holds the pearl, while Shen-ts'ai stands on the opposite side in attitude of prayer (Pl. xxvii, fig. a).

She is usually represented seated on a rock near running water or on an island in the sea. She may carry a roll of prayers or a willow branch³ with which she is believed to sprinkle around her the divine nectar (*amṛta*) called by the Chinese 'sweet dew'. In one of her hands is often the rosary of pearls referred to in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*; but it is sometimes in the beak of the bird, and the willow branch may be in the vase. Behind her or at the side are usually several bamboo stalks, and the whole may be included in a glory; but if she is accompanied by her acolytes, they are always outside of the glory.

Other forms represent her in deep meditation sitting or standing on a cloud,⁴ or on

¹ The bird may hold in its beak a rosary of pearls, which, according to the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (p. 412), was given to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara by the Bodhisattva Akṣhayamati.

² For legend see *Nanhai Kuan-yin Ch'üan Chuan* (Complete Tradition of Kuan-yin of the Southern Sea) and Waley, *Avalokiteśvara and the Legend of Miao-shan*, *Artibus Asiae*, mcmxxv, no. ii.

³ The first of the thirty-three Kwan-non in the

Butsuzō Zue (Japanese Pantheon) is called 'Yōryū' or 'willow', from the branch she holds in her hand, as does also the eleventh. The seventeenth has a willow branch in her vase.

⁴ The second of the thirty-three Kwan-non is seated on a cloud and a dragon. The fifth is seated on a cloud; the twenty-fourth standing on a cloud. The thirtieth is sitting on a lotus on a cloud.

a lotus-flower or lotus-petal on the sea ; and in the temples she is sometimes figured as a goddess of the sea, with rocks and crudely carved waves about her.

All these different representations seem to indicate the legend of Miao-shan, for according to her legend she withdrew to the island of P'u-t'o in order to practise meditation, which would thus explain her many manifestations represented on the sea.

Although the island of P'u-t'o was first dedicated to the male Kuan-yin, it became the most popular shrine of the goddess Kuan-yin. In the Buddhist records in the temples on the island of P'u-t'o there is an essay attributed to the poet Wang Po in which Kuan-yin is referred to as a goddess,¹ and in one of the temples there is a seated figure of the goddess of Mercy, while behind her, *standing*, is a figure of Padmapāṇi, and around the walls, also standing, is the group of thirty-two masculine Kuan-yin. This fact alone shows that the feminine form took precedence.

Unfortunately no documents have been found to prove that the goddess Kuan-yin was a development of the saint Miao-shan or that Miao-shan was worshipped as a goddess of Mercy before the introduction of Buddhism into China. Only by inference and deduction and by comparing the different manifestations of the goddess Kuan-yin can one piece together a hypothetical story of the development of her various forms.

Monier Williams claims that the Chinese looked upon the goddess of Mercy as the Tibetans look upon the *śakti*, or female energy of their gods. This is surely erroneous, although there is a Chinese temple picture in the British Museum which seems to support this theory. The goddess Kuan-yin is seated in the pose of the *śakti* of Avalokiteśvara, the green Tārā, and is accompanied by two acolytes, Lung-nü and Shen-ts'ai.

It is evident, at all events, that the Tibetans did not understand the female manifestation of Avalokiteśvara in China from the following fact : The Mongolian Emperor Kang-hsi, in the fourteenth century, sent to Tibet for images of the goddess Kuan-yin, which he presented to the monasteries on the island of P'u-t'o. They represent the goddess seated with locked legs, the upper part of the body bare, but with a skirt of leaves² and with many jewels ; and the Buddhist Chinese priests were evidently shocked by this representation of the goddess, for they covered all these statues with yellow mantles.³

In China, as well as in Japan, there seems to have been a confusion in regard to the sex of Kuan-yin, for there is a Chinese temple painting⁴ representing the god dressed like the female Kuan-yin, seated in the attitude called 'royal ease' (knee raised). The left hand holds a vase in which is a willow branch, the special emblem of the goddess, but the head outlined against a white glory is that of a man with a moustache and beard. There is only one acolyte, Lung-nü, carrying the pearl. This painting is claimed to be Taoist, dating between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

¹ R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, p. 275.

² Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 261.

³ In the *Butsuō Zue*, the twenty-second of the thirty-three Kwan-non is called 'Haye', or 'clothed in leaves'.

⁴ Belonging to Madame Langweil.

PLATE XXVIII



SHŌ KWAN-NON (PADMAPĀNI)

The cult of Kuan-yin (Quan-ām) was possibly introduced into Cochin-China during the Chinese occupation. At any rate, her form of 'Giver of Children' was particularly popular in Annam, where she was represented in the temples with a child on her knee and wearing the traditional flowing garments and head drapery. At her right was placed the usual vase and willow branch, while at her left was the bird, either on a rock or perched on the branch of a tree.

THE LEGEND OF MIAO-SHAN.¹

'In the eleventh year of the Epoch of the Heaven of Gold, 2587 B. C., lived a king called Miao Tohoang.' . . . He had three daughters and no sons, and when they were old enough to marry, he found them suitable husbands so that he might have an heir to the throne. But Miao-shan, the youngest, refused to marry, saying that she preferred to pass her life in seclusion in order to perfect herself by meditation and contemplation, and thus arrive at the state of a Buddha.² She retired to the monastery of the White Sparrows³ in order to live in perfect seclusion.

The king made every attempt to persuade her to return, and when every kindly tentative failed he resorted to cruelty, each trial being more horrible than the last, but she came out unscathed from them all. Then he ordered her to be decapitated. During the execution there sprung up suddenly a great wind storm, the heavens were obscured, and light, breaking forth, surrounded Miao-shan.⁴ Then the tutelary god of the place, having taken the form of a tiger, bounded out of the forest and carried her inanimate form into the mountains.

She visited Yama in Hell, and by her magic power liberated the damned souls. Upon her return, Buddha appeared to her on a cloud, and counselled her to retire to the island of P'u-t'o some three thousand miles away, and give herself up to meditation. He gave her a peach⁵ from the garden of Heaven to preserve her for a year from hunger and thirst, and to assure her eternal life. A local god of the island took the form of a tiger and carried her there with the rapidity of the wind.⁶ For nine

¹ Extracts taken from the legend of Miao-shan in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*. v. Waley, *Avalokiteśvara and the Legend of Miao-shan*, *Artibus Asiae*, mcmxxv, no. ii, and Stiassny, *Einiges zur Buddhistischen Madonna*, *Cicerone*, xv. 22, 1011.

² It is not surprising to find Buddhist influence in some of the versions of the legend of Miao-shan. There are records of Buddhist missionaries in China as early as 225 B. C. and again in 217 B. C., according to Max Müller in his *Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 24. The fact, however, is not accepted by more recent writers.

³ One of the Chinese titles of Kuan-yin is the 'White-Robed Great Being' (Mahāsattva). In the *Butsuzō Zue*, the Japanese manual of the Buddhist Pantheon, the fourth of the group of

thirty-three Kwan-non is 'Byaku-i' (clothed in white).

⁴ The fifth of the thirty-three Kwan-non is called 'Yen-ō' (sitting in bright rays).

⁵ The twenty-third of the thirty-three Kwan-non, the 'Ryūri', holds a round object in her hand. According to an ancient Chinese (Taoist) legend, there was once a fairy queen called Hsi-wang-mu who held her court in the K'unlun mountains; she had a garden of miraculous peach-trees which conferred the gift of immortality, but only bore fruit every three thousand years.

⁶ Other versions say that she was 'carried over the water on a lotus' (Eitel). In the *Butsuzō Zue* the twelfth Kwan-non is represented standing on a lotus-petal on the sea, the seventh is seated on a lotus-flower on the sea.

years she remained on the island practising meditation and performing acts of merit, after which she was raised to the rank of Buddha and took her first acolyte, Hoan Shen-ts'ai (he who prays in order that he may have virtue and talent).

Later, she acquired another acolyte in the following manner: The third son of a Dragon King of the Sea was wandering one day upon the waves in the form of a fish, when he found himself entangled in a fisherman's net and was offered for sale in the market.¹ Miao-shan, whose eyes see all things, discovered the danger and sent Shen-ts'ai in human form to buy the fish and set it at liberty. The Dragon King was much touched by her kindness, and sent her, by his grand-daughter, Lung-nü, a pearl that gave light in the dark,² so that she might read the sacred books during the night. Lung-nü was so entranced with Miao-shan that she conceived the idea of herself acquiring the state of a Buddha, and asked to be permitted to remain with her and become her acolyte, to which Miao-shan readily consented.

Miao-shan converted her parents and became a 'Saviour of Men', and was able to remove all obstacles to their attaining Amitābha's paradise. She herself refused to enter it as long as any human being was excluded.

THE YAKSHINĪ HĀRITĪ

(T.) *Yid'-prog-ma* (Heart-ravishing).³

(C.) *Sung-tsü* (Giver of Sons) and *Kui-tzu-mu-shen* (Mother of Demon Sons).

(J.) *Koyasu Kwan-non* (Giver of Children) and *Ki-shi-mo-jin* (Mother of Demons).

Symbols: child-bearing, a nakula, a pomegranate, a cornucopia.

The Hindu goddess Hārītī, protectress of children, worshipped in Northern India by bereaved parents, and believed in Nepal to prevent small-pox, was originally a Yakshinī, an ogress, a cannibal demon who once devoured all the children in Rājagriha.

The legend of Hārītī, of which there are many versions,⁴ is, according to the *Samyuktavastu*, the following: At the time when the Buddha was dwelling in the *vihāra* of the Bamboo Grove in Rājagriha, there was a Yakṣa Protector of the region named Śatagiri. He was the brother of the Yakshinī Abhirati whose hand was promised to the son of the Yakṣa Protector of Gandhāra called Pāñcāla.

One day she confided to her brother that she wished to capture and eat all the children in Rājagriha. Śatagiri remonstrated with her in vain, and, hoping to turn her from her evil design, sent word to Pāñcāla that his sister being now of age to marry, he wished to unite her with his son Pāñcika.⁵ The Yakṣa Pāñcāla willingly agreed to this, and Pāñcika became the father of her five hundred children,⁶ of which the youngest was called Priyaṅkara.⁷

¹ The tenth of the thirty-three Kwan-non is called *gyo* (fish), *ran* (basket).

² Yeh-ming tchou (夜明珠), night-shining pearl.

³ Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddhist Cult*, p. 147.

⁴ Peri, *Hārītī*, *La Mère-de-Démons*, and I-ching,

Record of the Buddhist Religion, pp. 37, 38.

⁵ v. Kuvera.

⁶ v. *Lalita Vistara*, chap. xv.

⁷ Piṅgala, v. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Buddhique de Gandhāra*, vol. ii, p. 132. Priyaṅkara, v. Peri, *Hārītī*, p. 6, n. 2.

But in Rājagriha there were bitter lamentations. All the children had disappeared, and in their despair the parents appealed to the king, who commanded a great feast to be prepared with all sorts of offerings to the Yakṣa of the region. The Yakṣa then made known to the bereaved parents in a dream that their children had been devoured by the Yakshinī Abhirati, and that they must go to the Buddha and ask for his protection. From that time, Abhirati was always called Hāritī, the 'Rapacious One', or the 'Stealer of Children'.¹

The people of Rājagriha then repaired to the *vihāra* where the Buddha dwelt, and, prostrating themselves at his feet, begged him to have pity on them and render the Yakshinī harmless. The Buddha remained silent; but early on the following morning, he took his begging-bowl and went into the city to beg for his morning meal; after which he proceeded to the dwelling-place of Hāritī, and finding her youngest son Priyāṅkara there, he hid him under his begging-bowl. Shortly afterward Hāritī returned, and not seeing her favourite offspring, she asked of each of her 499 sons: 'Where is Priyāṅkara?' and each one answered: 'None of us know!' Then, in great agitation, she began hunting for him in all the four directions, through the country of Jambudvīpa, across the Black Mountains, over the Mountains of Gold . . . until she came to the place where dwelt the great general Vaiśravaṇa (one of the names of Kuvera), and throwing herself at his feet, she cried: 'My son Priyāṅkara has been stolen! I beseech you, O Great General, find him for me!' Vaiśravaṇa then told her to return to Rājagriha and to put her faith in the Buddha.

Hāritī forthwith returned to her dwelling-place, and seeing from afar the śramaṇa Gautama in a glory of light that surpassed the radiance of a thousand suns, she was filled with a great joy. Approaching the Buddha, she prostrated herself before him in adoration, and then, withdrawing to a respectful distance, she said: 'O Bhagavat, it is now a long time since I have seen my youngest son, Priyāṅkara. I beseech you to let me see him again!' The Buddha replied that she must first promise to follow his precepts and accord security to all the people of Rājagriha, after which Priyāṅkara would be restored to her. She acceded to the Buddha's command, and there was rejoicing in Rājagriha.²

Now Hāritī, having forsworn all human food, asked of the Buddha what nourishment she and her 500 children were to receive. For answer, the Buddha sent for the monks of the *vihāra* and commanded them to offer to Hāritī and her children daily, at each repast, the same nourishment of which they themselves partook. Thereafter, in all the monasteries in India and Nepal, the command of the Buddha was obeyed. Hsüan Tsang and I-ching found an altar dedicated to Hāritī in every monastery that they visited in Northern India; but her image, either in statuary form or painted on the wall, was always near the door of, or in the porch leading to, the refectory.

¹ Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddhist Cult*, p. 148.

² Hsüan Tsang, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i, pp. 110-111, refers to *stūpa* which marked the place of Hāritī's conversion and before which the

common people made offerings to obtain children. See also Foucher, *Notes sur la Géographie Ancienne du Gandhāra*, B. E. F. E. O. i, 1901, p. 341, and Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, p. 134.

Hārītī was figured either seated or standing with a child at her breast or astride on her hip; and around her were usually five children, which probably stood for the 500 sons. She sometimes holds the symbol of fecundity, the pomegranate, in one of her hands: for the Buddha was believed to have cured her of cannibalism by giving her a diet of pomegranates, the red fruit of which was supposed to resemble human flesh.

Hārītī was usually represented with flowing garments, which varied slightly according to the country. In the Gandhāra sculptures¹ she has no head-covering, but her hair is often arranged somewhat like a crown, and in the corners of her mouth may be indicated the fangs which denote her Yakṣa origin. In Java, at the temple of Tjandi Mendut, she is figured with the hair drawn up into a mitre-shaped head-dress and seated on a throne, holding a child to her breast with many children playing around her.² Under the throne, a basket of fruit seems to contain pomegranates. In the frescoes discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Domoko in Central Asia, she has a string of pearls in her elaborately dressed hair.³ The temple banner found by Herr von Le Coq at Turfan differs from the usual representations of Hārītī in that the hair is covered by a drapery falling over her shoulders; and that her robe is not draped in the Greek style, but is close-fitting and has sleeves. She has a child in her arms to whom she offers the breast, and around her are eight children.⁴

In a *sādhana* found by Waddell in a Tibetan manuscript, Hārītī is described as red in colour, with a *nakula* in her hand.⁵ Now Hārītī may be represented in Tibet (Pl. xli, fig. d) pressing a child to her right breast and a *mongoose* to her left breast. Her right hand is in *varada mudrā*, while her left holds a bowl of jewels. She is thus not only the 'Giver of Children', but, holding the *nakula*, has become, in this form, the 'Bestower of Wealth' as well.⁶

The cult of Hārītī, founded on the desire for posterity, although it reached Java, found little favour in Southern India, but, spreading northward through Kashmir, reached Chinese Turkestan, where it was readily adopted. The cult of Hārītī was popular in China, especially in the T'ang dynasty, where she was called Kui-tzū-mu-shen or 'Mother of Demon Sons'. She was never invoked, however, to obtain children, as in India, but to ward off ill-health or to be cured of disease. In Japan she was worshipped both as saint and as ogress, and although she holds the child, in both forms, she never offers the breast. As saint, she is called Koyasu Kwan-non; while as ogress, she is invoked as Kishi-mo-jin.⁷

But Hārītī was not unaccompanied in the spreading of her cult, for opposite her in the monasteries in India as well as in Chinese Turkestan was another deity who until recently was believed to be Kuvera, and about whom there is now much specu-

¹ v. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, figs. 376-377.

² Groneman, *Ruins of Buddhistic Temples in the Prāgū Valley*, Pl. i.

³ Foucher, *La Madone Bouddhique*, fig. 7.

⁴ v. drawing opposite Pl. xxvi.

⁵ Waddell, *Evolution of Buddhist Cult*, p. 146.

⁶ According to I-ching, she had the power of giving wealth. v. *Records*, p. 87.

⁷ See Koyasu Kwan-non.

lation. We have seen that the father of her children was the Yakṣa Pāñcika, one of the twenty-eight generals in the Yakṣa army of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera). We recognize him easily in the warrior holding a lance, with whom Hārītī, surrounded by many children, is often enthroned in the Gandhāra sculptures.¹ In the bas-relief found at Sahri-Bahlol² they are seated side by side, Pāñcika holding the lance in his right hand, and in his left is the money-bag; but Hārītī, instead of carrying the child, contents herself with only the symbol of fecundity, the cornucopia.³ At Takt-i-Bahi, while Hārītī still holds the cornucopia, Pāñcika has put aside his symbol as warrior and carries only the money-bag.⁴ Is this the *transition* form which brings us to the deity opposite Hārītī in the *vihāras* of Northern India, deity who is so unwarlike in appearance that it is with difficulty that one accepts him as another form of Pāñcika? At any rate, the cult of this deity, be he Pāñcika, Kuvera, or only 'Mahākāla',⁵ never reached China, where Hārītī, installed as in India in the refectories of the monasteries, received alone the daily offerings of food.⁶ In certain Buddhist texts, however, there is reference to a cannibal Yakṣa called Āṭavaka (C. Kouang-ye-chen) who was placed opposite her in the Chinese *vihāras* and who also received daily offerings of food (v. Kuvera).

Besides her special cult in the monasteries in China, Hārītī was worshipped in a group of twenty deities which, according to Peri,⁷ was known in China as early as the sixth century. The Buddha was placed as a rule in the centre of the group, with ten deities on either side; but Hārītī was not given a place of honour, for she is found on the left of the Buddha next to the last deity, Sāgara, Dragon King of the Sea.

This group of twenty deities⁸ was introduced into Japan by the Tendai sect, where it is found with practically no changes in the temples of to-day. The group never reached Indo-China, although the cult of Hārītī was popular, especially in the *vihāras* of Annam, where even at the present day the monks make offerings of food to the 'Mother of Demon Sons'.

¹ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, figs. 382, 383.

² Ibid., fig. 387.

³ In a bas-relief found by Hackin at Pārtava, Afghanistan, Hārītī is figured holding a cornucopia in a niche at the left of the Buddha, while in the corresponding niche at the right is *Vajrapāṇi* instead of Pāñcika. v. Pl. iv, *Sculptures Gréco-Bouddhique de Hackin*.

⁴ Sir Aurel Stein, *Report of the Archaeological Society of India*, 1911-12, p. 8.

⁵ I-ching, *Records*, p. 38.

⁶ v. Peri, *Hārītī, Mère-de-Démons*, for rites in Mahayāna countries for the offering of food to Hārītī.

⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

⁸ Ibid., p. 61, for the names of the twenty deities in the group.

FORMS OF KWAN-NON

TABLE IX

Kwan-non. One head.	I. Two arms.	I. Lotus and vase, rosary or 'charity' <i>mudrā</i> . Shō.
		II. Crown of eleven heads Jū-ichi-men.
		III. { I. Non-Tantra . . } Nyo-i-rin. { II. Six arms . . }
	II. Six or more arms.	I. Horse's head, <i>mudrā</i> <i>renge-no-in</i> , Tantra symbols Batō.
		II. Sword and banner, <i>mudrā renge-no-in</i> , Tantra symbols . . Juntei (feminine).
		III. Staff (<i>shakujō</i>), rosary and lasso, lotus and <i>mudrā</i> Fukū-kenjaku.
	III. 1,000 arms.	I. Tantra and non-Tantra symbols Sen-ju.
Forms not authorized in the Japanese Buddhist Scriptures.		I. Holding a child Koyasu Kwan-non.
		II. Holding a pomegranate and some- times a child Kishi-mo-jin.
		III. Group of thirty-three feminine Kwan-non.

KWAN-NON¹

(God of Mercy).

(S.) *Avalokiteśvara.*

(C.) *Kuan-yin.*

Kwan-non when holding a child is called :

(C.) *Sung-tzu Kuan-yin.*²

(J.) *Koyasu Kwan-non.*³

KWAN-NON, god (or goddess) of Mercy, sometimes called *Kuse* or 'Salvation' Kwan-non, is the Japanese form of the Chinese divinity Kuan-yin, manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. His worship is said to have been introduced into Japan during the reign of the Empress Suiko (593-628), forty years after the introduction of Buddhism,⁴ and has lasted up to the present time.

There are three different non-Tantra manifestations of Kwan-non found in the temples and museums of Japan. The first, and probably the most ancient, is modelled after the Indian representation of Avalokiteśvara in his non-Tantra form of Padma-pāṇi : a slight, youthful figure, with long-lobed ears, dressed like an Indian prince, and with often a moustache slightly outlining the upper lip.

The second form, which was brought into Japan from India and Central Asia via China, is a female figure, seated or standing, with graceful, flowing garments, and a crown or head-drapery.

The third form is Japanese in aspect, but the long-lobed ears are Indian, and the folds of the drapery indicate the influence of the Gandhāra school. The figure is seated with the head leaning on the right hand.

The evident confusion in art in regard to the sex of Kwan-non has also existed among the worshippers even to the present day. The common people pray to the divinity as 'goddess of Mercy', while the priests and the more educated classes worship the god as a masculine deity, for he is believed to dwell on the right hand of Amitābha in the Western Paradise of Sukhāvati,⁵ where no woman without attaining masculinity, through merit, can enter. Some of the sects, however, worship Kwan-non as sexless, for it is claimed that, as objects of worship, all male or female beings should be looked upon as of no fixed sex.

Professor Lloyd says in his *Creed of Half Japan* that the Bodhisattva might be considered as non-sexual, or bi-sexual, while in his *Shinran* he writes : 'It is a mistake to speak of Kwan-non as a female deity. Kwan-non is the son of Amitābha, capable of appearing in many forms, male or female, human or animal, according to circumstances. But he is never manifested except as a means of practically demonstrating the divine compassion for a suffering creation.'

It is very difficult to determine when the different forms of Avalokiteśvara appeared in Japan; but there is a legend to the effect that in the seventh month after the Empress Suiko's reign (A. D. 593-628), the king of Shiraki (a portion of the present Korea) sent

¹ 觀音 or Kwan-on; but according to the Buddhist tradition in Japan, it is pronounced : Kwan-non. ² v. page 80. ³ v. page 96.

⁴ According to some, 100 years after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, A.D. 552. Others claim 150 years later. ⁵ v. Glossary.



a. RATNAPĀṆI



b. KUAN-YIN (SUNG-TZŪ)



c. KUAN-YIN (SUNG-TZŪ)



d. KUAN-YIN

an ambassador to the Japanese court to make homage to the empress and to present her with a gold-copper statue of Avalokiteśvara. Prince Shōtoku, who was regent to the empress, accepting it, ordered Hata-no-Kawakatsu to put up a sanctuary for the image. It is also recorded that Shōtoku put up statues and shrines to Kwan-non, and that whenever he was troubled by any serious state affairs, he shut himself up in one of the shrines and offered prayers to Avalokiteśvara.

In the middle of the seventh century, Dōshō, a Japanese priest, went to China to study Buddhism with Hsüan Tsang,¹ the famous Buddhist pilgrim and scholar, and brought back with him many Buddhist images. Hsüan Tsang was a fervent admirer of Avalokiteśvara,² although he was not worshipped by the Hossō sect. It is therefore not improbable that among the images that Dōshō brought back, there were representations of Avalokiteśvara, possibly in both the masculine and feminine forms.

About the middle of the eighth century, Amoghavajra³ came from Northern India to Japan and brought Buddhist images with him. The foreign gods, however, were not popular until the ninth century, when the Japanese Buddhist priest Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) returned from China, where he had been studying the dogmas of the Yogācārya or Tantra school, under Hui-kuo (Kei-kwa), the celebrated Buddhist scholar.

After founding the Shin-gon⁴ sect, he proceeded to popularize the divinities of the Mahāyāna by the same tactics that his master, Hui-kuo, had employed with success in China. Hui-kuo, in his turn, had adopted the method of Asaṅga in India several centuries before, and the method was a very simple one. It consisted in accepting the gods of a people one intended to convert, at the same time proclaiming that these gods were manifestations of the divinities one was about to impose.

Kūkai went to the holy Shintō shrine of Isé and prostrated himself before the altar of the god⁵ of Abundant Food, Toyo-uke-bime no Kami. After days of fasting he succeeded in getting a revelation. The god appeared to him, expressed his belief in the power of the gods of the Mahāyāna, and informed him that the Shintō gods were *avatārs* and incarnations of the Buddhist divinities. And so, with the approbation of this most popular and powerful deity, he began the work of revealing the names of the Buddhist gods, of which the Shintō divinities were but manifestations, and of popularizing them.

As Kōbō Daishi brought the Tantra doctrine into Japan, it is not improbable that he also introduced the Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara, the Sen-ju, or thousand-armed Kwan-non, for it is recorded that, like Dōshō, he brought back images with him when he returned from China.

There are seven forms of Kwan-non in Japan, which show the influence of the Tibetan Mahāyāna school:

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Shō Kwan-non, | 3. Sen-ju, | 5. Fukū-Kenjaku, | 7. Nyo-i-rin. |
| 2. Jū-ichi-men, | 4. Jun-tei, | 6. Ba-tō, | |

¹ Founder of the Hossō sect in China (Yogācārya school).

² v. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hsüan Tsang, vol. ii, pp. 60 and 127.

³ Known in Japan as Chizō or Fukū Sanzō; in China as Pu-k'ung.

⁴ The Shin-gon sect belongs to the Yogācārya or Tantra school.

⁵ In the Shintō religion the gods are not 'imaged'.

These seven forms are in two groups of six, for the Tendai sect does not include the Jun-tei Kwan-non, and the Shin-gon omits the Fukū-Kenjaku. There is also a group of thirty-three (sometimes thirty-four) Kwan-non made up from these seven forms, which was established by the Emperor Kwazan, who abdicated the throne in the tenth century, and himself made a pilgrimage to the thirty-three shrines in the Yamato.

The Japanese Buddhists look upon these seven forms as manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, but only three of them, the Shō, Sen-ju, and Jū-ichi-men (with possibly the Fukū-Kenjaku), resemble the Tibetan forms of the god of Mercy. The Ba-tō is modelled after the Tibetan god, Hayagrīva, while the Jun-tei resembles the Tibetan goddess, Cundā.

The Japanese do not absolutely follow tradition in their representations of the Bodhisattva. The crown, when without the heads,¹ is not usually five-leaved like the Tibetan, but high, complicated, and most ornate, with ornaments hanging on either side of the head to the shoulders. The breast and shoulders of the Japanese Bodhisattva are bare, but he wears a necklace and the traditional scarf, which crosses his breast from the left shoulder and is wound around the body several times, falling in graceful loops like garlands with the ends hanging over the arms.

The lower limbs are covered by a full, gracefully draped skirt-like garment which falls to the ankles, and the folds often show the influence of the Gandhāra school. The lobes of the ears are always long, indicating the Indian school, but the eyes may be Japanese in shape. There is usually the *ūrṇā* and, behind the crown, the *ushnīsha*. The Japanese Bodhisattva is sometimes represented dressed like a Buddha, with only his high, complicated head-dress indicating his rank as a Bodhisattva.

I. *The Shō Kwan-non* (the All-wise One). In Japan the Shō Kwan-non is called 'Aryāvalokiteśvara', while in Tibet the term is used for the most complicated form of Avalokiteśvara, which in Japan is called 'Sen-ju'.

The Shō Kwan-non is the simplest form of Avalokita, and therefore corresponds with his manifestation called 'Padmapāṇi'. In fact, like Padmapāṇi, he is represented as a graceful youth, standing with the right hand in *vitarka* (teaching) *mudrā*, and the left denoting 'charity'. His symbol, the lotus, which is generally a bud, may be held in the right hand, or, if in the left, is sometimes in a vase. The eyes, half closed, may be Indian in form, and the lobes of the ears are always long. The hair is drawn up in a mitre-shaped *ushnīsha* behind the complicated crown. The *ūrṇā* is on the forehead, and the upper lip is often outlined by a moustache, which one never sees on the Indian form. On the other hand, the antelope skin, which is sometimes worn by the Indian Padmapāṇi, is never seen on the Shō Kwan-non. His shoulders and breast are bare and he may wear many jewels, which do not, however, correspond to the thirteen traditional Bodhisattva ornaments, nor is his dress exactly the same. He may also be without jewels. The Shō Kwan-non, however, resembles more closely the Tibetan type than any of the other Japanese forms (Pl. xxviii).

II. *Jū-ichi-men Kwan-non* (*Ekadaśamukha* or Eleven-headed). The Jū-ichi-men Kwan-

¹ The crown of heads is only found in Chinese Turkestan, China, and Japan.

non, having but two arms, resembles the Shō Kwan-non, with the exception of the head-dress, which is a crown of eleven heads disposed in two rows of three and a row between of five (the author has never seen them disposed in three tiers like the Ārya-Pāla). The head of Amitābha rises out of the *ushnīsha*. The Jū-ichi-men may, however, also have four arms. In his left hand he holds a vase, in which is generally a lotus-flower, and his right hand, in 'charity' *mudrā*, either holds a rosary or a *shakujō* (alarm staff). He is sometimes surrounded by a glory, in which, on each side, are five suns and a *cintāmani* (magic jewel).

One often sees the central head of the first or second row replaced by a small figure, standing or sitting like a Buddha, closely draped, and with the hands always covered. The little figure might represent Kikuta Sanzo, an Indian prince belonging to the Ritsu sect who came to Japan from India between the seventh and ninth centuries. He was much venerated, and was always represented *with the hands covered*.

III. *Sen-ju Kwan-non* (Thousand-armed). The Sen-ju Kwan-non resembles the 'Ārya-Pāla' or Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara. He either wears the crown of eleven heads of the Jū-ichi-men Kwan-non, or a high crown without heads. He may also have a low crown with a standing figure in the centre.

His many arms are outstretched, with the exception of two pairs which are held in front and against him, the upper hands holding the *pātra* or begging-bowl, or in 'prayer' *mudrā*, while the lower ones hold the ambrosia vase. All the other hands hold Tantra and non-Tantra symbols. The two upper hands at the back may be raised above the crown of heads forming *añjali* (salutation) *mudrā*, sometimes holding a *kongō* (*vajra*), or (but rarely) a small image of Amitābha,¹ like the Indian 'Ārya-Pāla'.

IV. *The Jun-tei Kwan-non* (San. Cuntī). The only feminine form among the seven Kwan-non is Jun-tei, who is believed to have performed the three meditations, after which she was directed in her actions by the Buddha himself.

She is called Koṭi-śrī, or Saptakoṭi-Buddha-mātrī-Cuntī-devī, or the goddess Cuntī, mother of 700,000 Buddhas. It is believed by the Japanese that the goddess is taken from Indian mythology and is Durga devī, wife of Śiva, but the legend vaguely resembles that of the ogress Hārītī.²

Jun-tei is sometimes represented as an angry goddess, but is usually pacific. She has the third eye and eighteen arms, all the hands holding different symbols. The two original ones are against the breast, the hands forming the *mudrā renga-no-in*,³ but it differs somewhat from the *mudrā* of the Ba-tō in that only the ring and little fingers are locked. The second fingers are upright and touching at the tips. The index fingers touch the first joints of the second fingers, thus forming a kind of 'triangular' pose. The hands of the two upper arms hold a sword and banner (Pl. XII, fig. c).

According to the *Butsuzō Zue* the god is represented seated in the form of a woman. The *ushnīsha* is covered by a stiff, highly decorated, cone-shaped turban, and she is clothed in flowing draperies.

¹ v. *Butsuzō Zue*, Japanese manual of the Buddhist Pantheon.

² Hārītī is believed, in Japan, to have had 100,000 children.

³ v. Glossary.

V. *Fukū-Kenjaku* (San. Amoghapāśa). Fukū-Kenjaku made his appearance in Japan much later than the others, and was not adopted by the Shin-gon sect, but is a popular deity with the Tendai sect.

He may be seated or standing with eight (or only six) arms, and wears a high crown. The original arms are held in front and against him, the hands forming *namahkāra* (prayer) *mudrā*. The upper arms hold Jizō's staff (*shakujō*) and a lotus-flower. Two of the lower ones hold a rosary and lasso, and the other two form *vara* (charity) *mudrā*, but the symbols may be disposed differently.

There is a form of Fukū-Kenjaku which wears the 'Jū-ichi-men' crown; but he is usually represented with a complicated crown without heads and may be without the *ūrṇā*. He carries the vase, in which is the lotus-flower, in the left hand, and in the right is his usual symbol, the *shakujō*, or alarm staff.

VI. *Ba-tō Kwan-non* (San. Hayagrīva). Ba-tō, the horse-headed Kwan-non, takes the form of the Tibetan masculine divinity Hayagrīva, and nevertheless remains for the common people the 'goddess of Mercy'.

In Tibet Hayagrīva is the protector of horses, and is supposed to frighten away the demons by neighing like a horse. There may also be some such idea in Japan, for he is worshipped chiefly in the north, where many horses are raised, and effigies of the god may be seen along the roadside. He is, in fact, the patron god of the horse-dealers.

The horse's head in the hair of the Ba-tō Kwan-non is a Northern Buddhist symbol, and in the Mahāyānist legends, the horse, especially if white, played an important role. In the *Guna Karanda Vyūha*, Śākya-muni tells of the miraculous horse¹ that saved Simhala (in reality himself, Buddha)² from the wiles of the Rākshasī.³ It was also on the white horse, Kaṇṭhaka, that the Buddha left his palace to become an ascetic. Legend says that the horse died of grief at being separated from his master, and was reborn in the Trayastriṃśa heaven as the *deva* Kaṇṭhaka.⁴

The white horse played an important part as well in Chinese Buddhism, according to the following legend:

'In the year A.D. 63,⁵ the Chinese emperor, Ming-ti, had a vision. A man in shining raiment and pointing to the west announced to him the appearance in the world of a Perfect Man. He was impressed by the vision and sent an embassy of eighteen men to go to the west and find him.

'As the members of the mission were on their way, they met two men holding a white horse laden with books, images, and relics. They recognized the men as those they were seeking, and, turning back with them, brought them to Loyang, the residence of the Han emperor, where they were installed in the "White Horse Monastery", which is the earliest Buddhist sanctuary in China.'⁶

¹ The horse was white, according to the *Abhinishkramaṇa sūtra*.

² Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 199.

³ Cannibal demons.

⁴ For the legend see Fa-hsien, p. 219, and *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 87.

⁵ See Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 212, and Beal, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 88, n. 1; Maspero, *Le Songe et l'Ambassade de l'Empereur Ming*, B. E. F. E. O., Tome x, no. 1.

⁶ Lloyd, *Development of Japanese Buddhism*.



The tradition of the white horse also reached Japan, for the horse's head in Ba-tō's hair must be white to be efficacious.

It is curious that a white horse (albino, if possible) is always attached to important Shintō shrines, and that the Restoration, in abolishing all Buddhist symbols from the Shintō temples, should have allowed the horse to remain.

Ba-tō Kwan-non is represented seated, either with the legs locked, or the right knee raised in the attitude called 'royal ease'. Unlike the other types of Kwan-non, his expression is always angry, and in his forehead is a third eye. The hair stands upright, and protruding from it is a horse's head, the characteristic mark of this god (Pl. xxxii, fig. c).

Sometimes there are three heads, one on either side of the central head, each face having a different but angry expression, and above the central head is that of a horse (Pl. xxxii, fig. d). This form closely resembles one of the manifestations of Hayagrīva.

There are generally eight outstretched arms, of which five hands hold the same symbols as Hayagrīva: wheel, sword, lasso, &c., and the sixth can be making the *vara mudrā*, or holding a symbol. The two normal arms are against the breast, the hands forming the Japanese *mudrā* called *renge-no-in*,¹ which is emblematical of the lotus-flower, all fingers locked except the indexes that point upwards and touch at the tips.

VII. *Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non* (S. Cintāmaṇi-cakra; C. Ju-i-lun Kuan-yin) has both Tantra and non-Tantra forms in Japan; but in Chinese Turkestan and China he is only found in the non-Tantra form. As he was often represented in paintings seated by the sea, the Japanese call him the 'Suigetsu' Kwan-non or the Kwan-non 'reflected on the waters like the moon'.² A painting now in the British Museum, which was found at Tun Huang and dates from the tenth century, represents this form of Kwan-non, and shows both Indian and Persian influence.³ According to the Japanese Buddhists, it is the Kwan-non referred to in the Keron *sūtra* as 'sitting in the midst of a pond' on the Potalaka mountain in Southern India.

The non-Tantra form of Avalokiteśvara in his manifestation of Nyo-i-rin is seated European fashion with the right foot supported by the left knee. The right elbow rests on the right knee, while the head leans on the index or both the index and second finger of the right hand. The left hand rests on the right ankle with the palm underneath, and the left foot is supported by a small lotus *āsana*.

When the Nyo-i-rin is figured in paintings, he is usually seated on a rock at the water's edge, with lotus flowers and other exotic plants at his feet; but if represented in sculpture, he is seated on a stool covered by a drapery. He wears a high turban, often with a jewel above the forehead; but otherwise he wears no jewels and is represented bare to the waist with a long garment hanging from the waist to the ankles.

In China, where he is found in the grotto temples of Lung Men and Yün Kang, he is not always figured bare to the waist, but may have the shoulders covered; nor

¹ It resembles the *mudrā* of k'Lu-dbañ-rgyal-po or 'Buddha Liberator of the Nāgas'. v. Glossary.

² (C.) Shiu-yueh Kuan-yin.

³ See also in the Louvre and Guimet Museums.

is his head leaning, as a rule, on the right hand, which may hold a lotus-bud. In one of the grotto temples at Yün Kang there is a horse kneeling at his feet, from which it is believed by certain scholars that the Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non is in reality the Prince Siddhartha, while the horse is his faithful steed Kaṇṭhaka; and that his attitude of deep reflection signifies that he is 'meditating on the best way to save mankind'.¹

In Japan, the Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non is either represented with a crown or with the hair drawn up mitre-shaped, or in different complicated forms, which may be ornamented on the top by a moon-crescent, in the centre of which is the flame symbol. The upper part of the body is bare, with the exception of ornaments on the breast and arms. The lower limbs are covered by a skirt-shaped drapery which falls from the waist to the feet, and shows the influence of the Gandhāra school in its graceful folds. The Hōryū-ji² owns a bronze in the traditional pose, as well as a Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non where the head is not supported by the right hand, which is in *vitarka mudrā*. In Japan the non-Tantra form never holds a symbol.

In his Tantra form the Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non is seated in the attitude called 'royal ease' with the right knee raised, while the left is bent in the usual position of a Buddha. In this form he has six arms. His head rests on his normal right hand, and the elbow may rest on the right knee, but does not always do so. The normal left arm is extended in 'charity' *mudrā*. Of the two arms underneath, the right holds the *cintāmaṇi* against his breast, while the left, in 'teaching' *mudrā*, holds a lotus-bud. The third right arm is pendant, holding a rosary, and the third left arm is raised, balancing a wheel on the index finger.

This form is called by the Japanese *Nyo-i-rin (cintāmaṇi-cakra)*, probably on account of the two symbols, the magic jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) and the wheel (*cakra*) which he carries. The Tantra form of the Nyo-i-rin, does not exist outside of Japan; but although Tantra, his expression is never ferocious, nor has he the third eye. The *ūrṇā* is often missing, and although the lobes of the ears are always long, the features are more Japanese than Indian, and express great calm and intense introspection.

KOYASU KWAN-NON

(Kwan-non of Easy Deliverance).

(S.) *Hārītī*.

Ogress form: *Kishi-mo-jin* (holding a pomegranate).

(C.) *Sung-tsū Kuan-yin*.

The female form of Kwan-non, with flowing garments and head-drapery, was unquestionably brought to Japan from Northern India via Central Asia and China; but at what epoch, it has not yet been determined. We know from reliable texts³ that in the eighth century there existed a Kwan-non cult in Japan, and that the Kwan-non was called Koyasu or the Kwan-non who brings about Easy Deliverance. We do not, however, know whether the form of Kwan-non was male or female.

¹ There is a divergence of opinion in regard to this form, which, according to certain authorities, is Maitreya.

² As well as the Chugu-ji in the rear of Horiu-

ji. v. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. i. plate opposite p. 62.

³ Oda Tokuno, *Bukkyō-Daijiten*.



a. AVALOKITEŚVARA



b. SIMHANĀDA MAÑJUŚRĪ



c. MAITREYA



d. BODHISATTVA (?)

In the *Bukkyō Daiji-ten*¹ is the following legend : The Empress Kōmyō (710–760), being with child, invoked the Shintō goddess Amaterasu, and prayed that she might have an easy deliverance. One night she saw in a dream the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara standing at her bedside, and when she awoke she found a small image of the Bodhisattva lying beside her. She kept it precious until after her deliverance, and then ordered it to be placed inside a statue of the ‘thousand-armed’ Avalokiteśvara which she had enshrined in the Taisan-ji (temple of Easy Deliverance) in Kyōto. According to popular belief, the Empress Kōmyō founded the Taisan-ji and dedicated it to the Koyasu Kwan-non, and it has remained up to this day one of the most flourishing centres of devotion in Japan.

In time, the Kwan-non of Easy Deliverance became popular all over Japan, principally through the *roku-bu* or travelling priests who, according to Peri,² carried portable altars on their backs in which were enshrined small images of Koyasu Kwan-non, feminine in form and *holding a child in the arms*. We do not know, however, if this form with the child existed at the time of the Empress Kōmyō, but if so, it was probably known only to the common people, for in none of the temples in Japan is there a statue of Avalokiteśvara with a child in the arms, of the eighth century.

According to tradition handed down by Japanese artists, the Empress Kōmyō caused a statue of the Koyasu Kwan-non, holding a child, to be modelled after her own image ; and a statue of Kichi-jō-tenno owned by the Jōruri-ji, Yamashiro, is also claimed to have been modelled after the Empress Kōmyō, who was celebrated for her beauty, both mental and physical.

The Japanese Buddhist priests place little credence in these accounts ; but even if legendary, the fact remains that tradition has been handed down associating the form of Kwan-non holding the child with the eighth century.

It is claimed by the Japanese Buddhist priests that the forms of Kwan-non which seem feminine in aspect are in reality masculine, but are given a female appearance to symbolize the qualities of love, compassion, and benevolence, which are conceded to be rather feminine than masculine. According to the tenets of Japanese Buddhism, the female form is only symbolical.

The Kwan-non of ‘Easy Deliverance’ resembles too closely the Chinese ‘Giver of Sons’ as well as the Indian ‘Giver of Children’ for any doubt to exist as to its origin ; and not only was the pacific form of the Indian goddess adopted in Japan (Pl. xxxii, fig. c), but, although much later, her demoniacal form³ as well, carrying the Indian symbol, the pomegranate, which, on account of its infinite seeds, is also looked upon in China and Japan as symbol of a numerous posterity. These two forms may be found in Japan merged in one, that is, holding the child and the pomegranate.⁴

¹ p. 472, and Peri, *Hārītī*, p. 78.

² *Hārītī*, *Mère-de-Démons*, p. 78.

³ In China the demoniacal form was never adopted, nor, judging from the excavations in Chinese Turkestan, was it ever popular in Central

Asia. Japanese form, v. Pl. xxxii, fig. a.

⁴ In Japan, however, the ogress form, Kishimo-jin, is not looked upon as a demoniacal form of Koyasu Kwan-non, and neither form is authorized in the Japanese Buddhist scriptures.

The worship of Hārītī (Kishi-mo-jin) was first brought into Japan when the Tendai sect introduced the group of twenty deities already popular in China. In the thirteenth century, Nichiren instituted a special cult of Hārītī founded on the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka sūtra* where Hārītī is referred to as being one of the eight *rākṣasī* who listened to the preaching of the Buddha. He ordered an image of Kishi-mo-jin to be placed in every temple and monastery of his sect, where she was adored as 'Protector of Preachers and their Faithful'. In time there was hardly a temple of importance which had not an altar or chapel dedicated to Kishi-mo-jin; but she was not worshipped, as in Northern India, in order to obtain children; nor, as in China, to be cured of disease. Hārītī was invoked in Japan because she was believed to have the faculty of protecting all those who possessed the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka sūtra* (Hokke-kyō) and who made it known to others.¹

In the sixteenth century, the temple of Kōmyō at Tōkyō was erected over a miraculous statue of Hārītī holding a child, found in the vicinity, and she was worshipped by the common people, from that time, as 'Protector of Children'.²

The *kichi-jō-kwa*, or pomegranate, is the special symbol of Kishi-mo-jin, the demoniacal form of Koyasu Kwan-non. When she is represented holding the child and the pomegranate, or her special symbol alone, she may be either in pacific or demoniacal form. If the former, she wears a flowing garment, a crown, and many jewels. If the latter, her hair is dishevelled and she is portrayed as a terrifying demon.

The Koyasu Kwan-non never holds the pomegranate. The mild form of Kishi-mo-jin holding the *kichi-jō-kwa* as well as the child is represented in the Exterior Diamond section (Vajrānubhāva-vṛitti) in the Maṇḍala of the Garbhadhātu of the Shin-gon sect, while in the temple paintings of the Ritsu sect she is placed in the Eating Hells. She is especially worshipped in her ogress form by the Nichiren sect, who look upon her as Protector of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*.

Among the Japanese Imperial treasures there is a small bronze statue which, according to the inscription on its base, was cast in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. The bronze is catalogued as a 'Shō Kwan-non' because of the round object in its hands which might be a magic jewel.

The compiler of the catalogue of the Imperial treasures admits that there is no traditional example of a Shō Kwan-non holding a magic jewel, when he bases his hypothesis as to the name of this idol on the fact that the Hōryū-ji owns a somewhat similar statue with the *cintāmaṇi* on the lotus-throne instead of in the hands. He also admits that there are 'peculiarities' which may be of 'Korean art or due to Indian influence'.

As the bronze in question,³ although more archaic, resembles in every important detail the gilt bronze statue illustrated on Pl. xxx, it will easily be seen that the 'peculiarities' are indeed striking if one compares it with the traditional representation of a Shō Kwan-non.

The symbol of the Shō Kwan-non is a lotus-bud (or flower), sometimes held in a vase. The hands are in 'charity' and 'teaching' *mudrā*; the breast and shoulders,

¹ Peri, *Hārītī, Mère-de-Démons*, pp. 41, 65.

² Ibid., pp. 80-81.

³ v. small image, Pl. xxx.

aside from the ornaments and scarf, are bare, and the lower limbs are covered by a full, skirt-shaped garment which falls from the waist *to the ankles*.

The bronze figure, on the contrary, is completely covered by a long, complicated garment, which falls *below the feet* almost to the second row of petals of the lotus-throne. (In the archaic statue the garment is longer than in the larger one illustrated in the same plate.)

It is therefore evident that if the statue were standing on a flat surface the garment would fall on the ground like the long trailing robes which the Japanese Court ladies have worn, in the interior, from time immemorial. The fact of the long garment alone indicates a feminine rather than a masculine divinity.

The statue in the Imperial treasures wears a crown, in which, however, there is no small image of Amitābha which would indicate the Shō Kwan-non.

The round object which is held in the left hand might be a magic jewel were it not covered by the right hand. The *cintāmaṇi*, both in the Tibetan form as well as in pearl shape, is represented *flaming*.¹ Even if it is not so portrayed, it is *understood*, and it would be against all tradition to represent the magic jewel held in this way. If it is not a *cintāmaṇi*, is it a pomegranate? There is no other Northern Buddhist symbol that is round. If, then, the divinity is feminine and holds a pomegranate, it is Hārītī, which fact would prove that the worship of the goddess Hārītī was introduced into Japan as early as the seventh century.

It is believed by some that the form of the goddess holding the child did not appear in Japan until the Tokugawa Shogunate (beginning of the seventeenth century), when the Roman Catholics were repressed and persecuted. It is claimed that the Catholics caused this form to be made in porcelain, or bronze, in which was inserted a cross, and that they worshipped the Koyasu Kwan-non as the Virgin Mary. There are examples of these images in the Imperial Museum at Tōkyō; but this does not prove that the form of Koyasu Kwan-non did not exist long before that epoch.

One of the most popular forms of the female Kwan-non is the Byaku-i, or the white-robed Kwan-non, which was first brought to Japan from China in the Ming dynasty in the fifteenth century, when Chinese painters, sculptors, and casters came to Japan, and enriched the country by more than one masterpiece.

According to the *Butsuzō Zue* (the Japanese manual of the Buddhist divinities) the Byaku-i Kwan-non belongs to the group of thirty-three female Kwan-non, which are all represented with the flowing garments and either a crown or the head-drapery of the Indian goddess. Several of the thirty-three Kwan-non indicate, either by their names or by their representations, events in the legends of Miao-shan (v. legend), while others refer to the Chinese goddess Kuan-yin.

The Byaku-i Kwan-non When, at the command of the Buddha, Miao-shan retired to
(sixth) (white-robed). the island of P'u-t'o to meditate, she clothed herself in white.

'White-robed' is also one of the titles of the Chinese
Kuan-yin.

¹ On a Japanese temple banner belonging to M. Goloubew, smoke arises from the flaming pear held in the right hand of Jizō.

The En-kō Kwan-non (fourth) (sitting in bright rays).

The Gyo-ran Kwan-non (tenth) (fish-basket), Pl. xxxi.

The Ryūzu Kwan-non (second) (Dragon-head).

The Anoku Kwan-non (twentieth) (protects against aquatic demons).

The seventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Kwan-non are represented on a lotus-flower, a lotus-petal, and a lotus-leaf on the sea.

The Ryūri Kwan-non (twenty-third) holds a round object.

The Yōryū Kwan-non (first) (willow). The eleventh Kwan-non holds a willow branch, and the fourteenth has a vase at her side in which is a willow branch.

The Haye Kwan-non (twenty-second) (clothed in leaves).

When the father of Miao-shan ordered her to be decapitated, 'a light breaking forth surrounded Miao-shan'.

When Miao-shan saw that the son of the Dragon King of the Sea (who had taken the form of a fish) had been caught by a fisherman and was to be sold, she sent her acolyte, Shen-ts'ai, to buy the fish and set it at liberty.

Miao-shan was miraculously carried across the sea to the island of P'u-t'o on a lotus-flower.

The Dragon King of the Sea sent Miao-shan a luminous pearl. The Buddha gave her a peach to secure her immortality.

The willow is the special symbol of the Chinese goddess Kuan-yin, with which she is believed to sprinkle about her the Nectar of Life.

The images of Kuan-yin sent to the temples and monasteries of P'u-t'o by the Emperor K'ang-hsi were clothed in leaves.

In fact, all the forms of the thirty-three female Kwan-non show Chinese influence, and were possibly introduced into Japan at the same time as the Byaku-i Kwan-non by the Chinese artists, in the fifteenth century. Some of these forms, however, are not authorized by the Japanese Buddhist scriptures.

The Japanese Buddhist priests do not look upon the *Butsuzō Zue* as an absolute authority on Japanese Buddhism; but until another manual is compiled, the Western student must continue to refer to this Japanese manual of Buddhist divinities, especially as, in so many respects, it has been found to be perfectly reliable.

No satisfactory conclusion, however, has yet been arrived at in regard to the Koyasu Kwan-non, nor the Chinese Kuan-yin, Sung-tzū. The dominant questions still remain unanswered: When did these forms first make their appearance in their respective countries? Is the Chinese princess and saint, Miao-shan, their legendary ancestress?

Until these two questions have been satisfactorily answered, every hypothesis is of value in that it may contain the germ of enlightenment in regard to one of the most interesting Buddhist manifestations, the goddess Kuan-shih-yin.

VIŚVAPĀṆI (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva).

Viśva (*raja*) pāṇi.

(Double-thunderbolt holder.)

Symbol : *viśva-raja* (double-thunderbolt).

Fifth Dhyāni-Buddha : Amoghasiddhi.

Dhyāni-Bodhisattva : Viśvapāṇi.

Mānushi-Buddha : Maitreya.

The Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Viśvapāṇi is very obscure. One seldom finds representations of the god either in bronzes or paintings. He is seated, dressed in all the Bodhisattva ornaments, his left hand lying on his lap, palm turned upward; and the right hand, in 'charity' *mudrā*, holds his symbol, the double thunderbolt.¹

Viśvapāṇi is believed to be in contemplation before the Ādi-Buddha, while waiting for the fifth cycle, when he will create the fifth world, to which Maitreya will come as Mānushi-Buddha.

ĀKĀŚAGARBHA (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Essence of the Void Space above).²(T.) *nam-mk'ahī sūin-po* (the matrix of the sky).(M.) *ogtarghui-in jirūken* (the essence of the heaven).(C.) *Hsu-k'ung-tsang* (虛空藏).(J.) *Kokūzō*.Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).*vara* (charity).Symbol : *sūrya* (sun).

Ākāśagarbha, whose essence is ether, is one of the group of eight Bodhisattvas. He is usually standing, with his hands in *vitarka* and *vara mudrā*, in which case his special symbol, the sun, is supported by a lotus at his right shoulder, while at his left is a lotus-flower supporting a book, the symbol carried by four Bodhisattva of this group.

According to Pander's *Pantheon*, he is seated, his legs loosely locked. His right hand holds the stem of a flower which is not a lotus, nor is there a disk rising from it as indicated by the text.³ The left hand forms *abhaya* (protection) *mudrā*. But in the work of Oldenburg,⁴ Ākāśagarbha is represented with a white lotus supporting the sun in his right hand; the left hand forms 'charity' *mudrā*.

In the reproduction in the *Five hundred Gods of sNar-t'an* he is figured seated, holding in his left hand the stem of a lotus, from which springs a sword.⁵ Both hands seem to be in *vitarka mudrā*. In this form he resembles Mañjuśrī.

In both China and Japan he is represented practically in the same way. He is standing, a graceful drapery falls from his waist, and a long narrow scarf is wound loosely around the body from the left shoulder to the right hip. The breast and

¹ v. Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, iii. 81.

² E. Denison Ross, *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ti-t'sang*,

gives : 'Receptacle of the Void' and 'Womb of the Space'.

³ p. 76, illust. 150.

⁴ No. 1, *Selection of Images of the three hundred Buddhist divinities*, &c.

⁵ Grünwedel, *Mythologie de Bouddhisme*, p. 143.

the right shoulder are bare, and the hair is drawn up in a *stūpa*-shaped *ushnīṣa* like Maitreya. If there is a crown, a *stūpa*-shaped ornament is in the central leaf of the five-leaved crown. There are no symbols, but the left hand forms the 'triangular pose' (all fingers extended with the tips of the thumb and index touching, forming a triangle—see *vitarka*), and the right is in *vara* (charity) *mudrā*. The features are Indian, with long-lobed ears, and he has the *ūrṇā*.

KSHITIGARBHA (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Matrix of the Earth).

(T.) *sāhi-sñin-po* (the matrix of the earth).

(M.) *ghaṣar-un jirūken* (the essence of the earth).

(C.) *Ti-tsang p'u-sa* (地藏菩薩).

(J.) *Jizō*.

Colour: green or white.

Mudrā: *vitarka* (argument).

vara (charity) or *abhaya*.

Symbols: *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel).

khakkhara (alarm staff).

Vāhana: winged lion or a tiger.

Kshitigarbha, although known in India as early as the fourth century, was never a popular deity, and in Tibet he was rarely worshipped by the Tantric sects outside of the group of eight Bodhisattva. His name, however, often appears in the ceremonies of initiation to the Mahāyānist priesthood.

After the seventh century, Kshitigarbha took on the special aspect of 'Earth' Bodhisattva, i. e., Bodhisattva of the Mysteries of the Earth, manifestation possibly due to the popular Buddhist belief that he was invoked by the Buddha in order to 'bear witness' that he had resisted the temptations of Mārā.¹ From this, the transition is easily traced to his subsequent roles of 'Judge of the Lower Regions' and 'God of the Dead'.

Kshitigarbha, unlike Ti-tsang in China, or Jizō in Japan, seems in no way connected with the infernal regions, although he is considered in both countries to be their Indian manifestation. In Tibet the 'Over-Lord of Hell' is Yama, while in China Yama holds a subordinate position under Ti-tsang, who is 'Over-Lord of Hell'. In Japan, Jizō, while looked upon as incarnation of Ti-tsang (and Kshitigarbha), holds a subordinate position, and Emma-Ō is 'Over-Lord of Hell'.

But although Kshitigarbha, Ti-tsang, and Jizō hold different posts in their respective countries, the three manifestations have this in common, that they are believed to have made a vow to do the work of saving all creatures from hell during the interim of the death of Śākya-muni and the advent of Maitreya.

In Tibet statues of Kshitigarbha are rare, and are seldom found outside of the group of 'eight Bodhisattva', where he is represented, like all the other Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, with the thirteen ornaments, and is standing with his right hand in 'argument', while his left hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*. His symbol, the magic jewel, generally

¹ According to the usual Buddhist legend, Buddha invoked the earth goddess Prithivī

Sthāva rā. v. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 24.



a. KI-SHI-MO-JIN



b. KOYASU KWAN-NON



c. BA-TŌ KWAN-NON



d. BA-TŌ KWAN-NON

in shape of a flaming pearl,¹ is supported by a lotus-flower on a level with his right shoulder. There is sometimes a book supported by a lotus-flower at his left shoulder, or he may carry a *kalāśa*, with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā*.²

Kshitigarbha may also be represented seated, holding an alarm staff in his two hands. On his head is a five-leaved crown, in each leaf of which is the representation of a Dhyāni-Buddha (Pl. xxxiii, fig. c). The *chodpan* crown is only worn by the Northern Buddhist priests and never by the gods; but this bronze is undoubtedly the representation of a god, for the personage is seated on the lotus-flower, and the alarm staff has six loose rings, which number indicates a Bodhisattva. As Kshitigarbha is especially worshipped by those entering the Northern Buddhist priesthood, it may be that he is adored by them in this special form.

A temple banner brought back from Chinese Turkestan by the Pelliot mission³ represents Kshitigarbha as the 'Good' Judge of the Lower Regions surrounded by the ten Kings of Hell. He wears the usual head-covering, of which both ends hang over the shoulders, and carries the 'alarm' staff with which to force open the gates of Hell. In his left hand he holds the luminous pearl which dispels the darkness of the infernal Regions. Below the lotus on which he is seated is his *vāhana*, a winged lion; in Annam his mount is a tiger.

Among the temple banners discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, and now in the British Museum, are some very beautiful paintings of Kshitigarbha. He is either represented seated, holding the alarm staff in his right hand and the flaming pearl in his left, or standing, with one foot on a yellow and the other on a white lotus, holding the flaming pearl in his right hand. In almost all the temple banners from Tun-huang his head is enveloped in a turban-shaped head-dress, with the ends falling over the shoulders, called the 'shawl of the Traveller'.

When Kshitigarbha is represented in a *maṇḍala* as one of the group of eight Bodhisattvas, each seated on a lotus petal, surrounding the Buddha enthroned on its calyx, he is figured on the petal opposite Ākāśagarbha and is represented in Bodhisattva form with crown and many jewels. His left hand is against his navel, holding an alms bowl, while the right forms the *mudrā* of 'giving consolation and peace to all human beings'. His magic formula or mantra is *svāhā*, which means 'May the race be perpetuated!'

Kshitigarbha is also represented as Master of the Six Worlds of Desire, which is a very popular form of representing the god in Japan in temple pictures. He is surrounded by:

1. A Bodhisattva symbolizing the heaven of the gods.
2. A man, symbolizing the world of men.
3. A horse and an ox, symbolizing the world of animals.
4. A demon armed with a pitchfork, symbolizing the hells.

¹ v. group of eight Bodhisattva in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and illustration, Oldenburg, *Izvestia*, &c. (Bull. Musée Pierre le Grand). St. Petersburg, 1909.

² Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 40.

³ Now in the Musée Guimet, Paris. v. Hackin, 'Documents', *Bulletin Archéologique du Musée Guimet*, fascicule ii, p. 18, and Pl. iii.

5. An asura, representing the world of asuras.

6. A prēta, representing the world of spectres.

A temple picture representing this subject was found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, proving that the form of Kshitigarbha with his alarm staff and 'Master of the Six Worlds of Desire' was brought into Japan from Central Asia.

In Japan he may wear a crown and be represented carrying a lotus-flower in his left hand. The right either holds the magic jewel or is in mystic *mudrā*: the fingers are all extended upwards and the thumb bent inwards touching the palm, a *mudrā* which the Japanese call 'semui'. It seems to be a corruption of the *vitarka mudrā*. His usual form, however, in Japan, is his manifestation Jizō.

TI-TSANG (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(Over-Lord of Hell).

Chinese Manifestation of Kshitigarbha.

Symbols: *khakkhara* (alarm staff).¹ *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel).

Kshitigarbha, who became an important deity in Chinese Turkestan, China, and Japan, was worshipped in China as early as the fifth century A.D. under the name of Ti-tsang, of which the literal translation is: Ti (earth, 'hell')-tsang (receptacle, womb, treasury). His great popularity in China, according to de Visser, is due in part to the spreading of the *sūtra* of the ten Cakras translated into Chinese about that time and extolling the innumerable qualities of the Bodhisattva.

According to the *Ti-tsang sūtra*,² Kshitigarbha, before becoming a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva and 'Deliverer from Hell',³ was a Brahman maiden, and his legend runs as follows: There was once a Brahman maiden whose mother died slandering the 'Three Treasures' (Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha), and to save her parent from the torments of the damned, she made daily offerings before the image of an ancient Buddha, imploring his help. One day she heard a voice telling her to return home and meditate on the name of Buddha. She did so, and while in deep meditation her soul visited the outposts of Hell, where she met the Demon-Dragon, who informed her that through her prayers and pious offerings her mother had already been released from Hell. Her heart was so touched by all the suffering souls she saw still in Hell, that she vowed through innumerable *kalpas* to perform acts of merit to release them.

In this same *sūtra* Buddha announces to Mañjuśrī that the Brahman maiden has become a Bodhisattva through her acts of merit and that her name, as such, is 'Ti-tsang'. Thus the Brahman maiden became a masculine divinity and 'Over-Lord of Hell'.

¹ Carried by mendicant Buddhist monks to 'warn off small animals lest they be trod upon and killed' (Waddell). v. *Khakkhara*, Glossary.

² v. R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, p. 194,

and de Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang*, *Ost-asiatische Zeitschrift*, Heft I, 1914.

³ *Ti-tsang-wang p'u-sa*.

Although Ti-tsang is the Regent of Hell, he does not judge the souls, but, according to Edkins, 'opens a path for self-reformation and pardon of sins'. He seeks to save mankind from the punishments inflicted on them by the ten Judges or Kings of Hell. He is a glorious saviour-deity, who visits hell only on errands of love and mercy.

Ti-tsang is sometimes represented in China surrounded by the ten Kings of Hell, of which the fifth, Yen-lo-wang, is the Chinese manifestation of the Indian god of Death, Yama. The ten kings are always represented standing when in his presence.

Ti-tsang may be represented standing or sitting, and always as a round-faced, benevolent person, carrying his special symbol, the alarm staff, topped by loose rings, in his right hand, and the magic jewel in his left.

Ti-tsang is often represented as a *śravaka*, for according to the *Mahāvaiṣṭya sūtra*, he once appeared before the Buddha in the form of a priest. In Chinese Turkestan he was often represented in the temples of the ninth and tenth centuries with shaven head, wearing the robe of a monk and carrying the *khakkhara*, while in his left hand he holds the *cintāmaṇi*.

Women who have ugly faces pray to him and believe that, if they are devout enough, they will be born for a million *kalpas* with beautiful countenances.

His place of pilgrimage is at Chiu-hua-shan, on a mountain crater, where a pagoda, ornamented with images of Ti-tsang and dedicated to him, soars above the monasteries and temples that cluster about it, and forms a pious landmark from the plains below.

JIZŌ (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

Japanese Manifestation of Kshitigarbha.

Symbols: *shakujō*¹ (staff topped with loose metal rings), *cintāmaṇi*.

Jizō is the 'Compassionate Buddhist Helper' of those who are in trouble and of women desiring maternity, in which latter case he is called Koyasu Jizō. He is also the patron god of travellers, and, as such, his image is often seen used as a signpost on the highways. Stones are sometimes heaped about his statues by bereaved parents, who believe that Jizō will 'relieve the labours of the young, set by the hag Sho-zuko-no-baba, to perform the endless task of piling up stones on the banks of the Sai-no-Kawara, the Buddhist Styx'.

The position of Jizō in Hell does not seem to be so clearly defined in Japanese Buddhism as his manifestation in China. During the Kamakura period Jizō was believed to be an incarnation of Yama-rāja, king of Hell, the idea probably coming from China; but he has never been confounded, however, with Emma-Ō, 'Over-Lord of Hell'.

Jizō is worshipped as Master of the Six Worlds of Desire. In this form he is only represented in paintings, and is surrounded by a Bodhisattva, a man, a horse, and an

¹ San. *Khakkhara*; v. Glossary.

ox, a demon, an asura, and *prēta*, thus symbolizing the Six Worlds of Desire. Jizō has a different form in each of the Six Worlds of Desire, and these six forms are called *Roku-jizō*. As Nikkō-jizō he is in the world of *devas*; as Jogaishō-jizō he is found in the world of *asuras*; Hōin-jizō in the world of animals, and Hōju-jizō in the world of hungry demons or *pretas*, where he is represented with a jewel in the left hand; when on the way to the hells he is called Danda-jizō, and is figured holding a staff which is topped by the effigy of a human head.

The Tendai and Shingon sects worship a group of six Jizōs, or 'Compassionate Helpers', which may correspond to the 'Six Muni', presidents of the six worlds of re-birth of Northern Buddhism. Three of these Jizōs have the title of 'King of Hell'.

Legend recounts that a certain holy monk went to visit Emma-Ō, King of Hell, and saw Jizō sitting among the damned, in the lowest of the hells, undergoing torments for the sins of mankind. This, however, would not be incompatible with his being king of Hell, for Yama, the Tibetan king of Hell, undergoes the same torments as his subjects.

Jizō is usually represented in Japan as a shaven priest with a benevolent countenance, sitting or standing.¹ He wears the monastic robe, and, although a Bodhisattva, has no ornaments, but may wear a crown. In his right hand he carries his distinctive symbol, the *shakujō*, an alarm staff topped by six metal rings, which represent his vow to save all who follow the Six-fold Path. In his left hand he may carry the magic jewel, a rosary, or a Kongō flag. He is sometimes represented without the *shakujō*, but rarely. Jizō is often accompanied by two young priests: Sho-zen (ruler of the good), whose colour is white, and who holds a white lotus in his hand; and Sho-aku (ruler of the evil ones), who is red in colour and carries a *vajra*.

In the temple banners of Japan where Amitābha, accompanied by Kwan-non and Seishi and surrounded by other celestial beings, is represented descending to earth to receive the soul of a devotee, Jizō is often figured in the beatific assembly as well as assisting at the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha.

In the Garbha-kośa *maṇḍala*, Jizō (Kshitigarbha) presides over the fifth enclosure, but is nevertheless subject to Avalokiteśvara, who is chief of the Padma assembly.

SARVANĪVARAṆA-VISHKAMBHIN (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(The Effacer of all Stains).²

(T.) *sgrīb-pa rnam-sel* (he who makes the realms of darkness).

(M.) *tūitker-tejin arilghaṇḍi* (the cleaner of moral spots).

(C.) *Ch'u-chu-chang* (除諸障).

(J.) *Jo-gai-shō* (removing-covering-obstacle).

Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).

vara (charity).

Symbol : *candra* (moon).

Colour : white or gray.

In the Lotus of the Good Law the Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇa-vishkambhin is mentioned as holding conversation with Gautama Buddha, during which he expresses the

¹ v. Pl. XXXIII, figs. a, b, and d.

² E. Denison Ross, *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English*

Vocabulary, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

PLATE XXXIII



a. JIZŌ



b. JIZŌ



c. KSHITIGARBHA



d. JIZŌ

desire to see the wonderful form of Avalokiteśvara. Thereupon Śākya-muni sends him to Benares, where Avalokita miraculously appears to the sage Vishkambhin, who ever after 'enumerates the qualities of this divine being'.¹

Vishkambhin belongs to the group of eight Bodhisattva found in the Northern Buddhist temples, and according to Oldenburg² is standing with hands in *vitarka* and *vara mudrā*. His special symbol, the full moon, and a symbol which is also carried by several of the Bodhisattva of the group, the *pustaka* (book), are supported by lotus-flowers at either shoulder.

According to Pander,³ he may hold the sun, but the disk is more probably meant to represent the *full* moon,⁴ for the sun is the special symbol of Ākāśagarbha of this group. The Bodhisattva is seated with legs closely locked. The right hand, in *vitarka mudrā*, holds the stem of a lotus on which is a disk, and the left is in *vara mudrā*.

If in company with the Buddha, as Liberator of the Serpents, and Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī, he may hold a *cintāmaṇi* and an ambrosia cup.

In his Yi-dam form he stands with legs apart, on a prostrate personage lying face downward. He wears a tiger-skin hung around his waist, and a garland of heads. On the top of his *ushnīsha* is a half thunderbolt; he has the third eye; his right hand holds a *kapāla* (skull-cup) and his left a *grigug* (chopper).

¹ Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 201.

² Oldenburg, III. (Materially: 5, note on several images and Bodhisattva.)

³ *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, p. 76, illus. 149.

⁴ Sarvanivarana never carries the moon-crescent, but the full moon, and as his Sanskrit name signifies 'effacer of spots', and his Japanese name 'removing-covering-obstacle', may there not be here a reference to the eclipse?

FORMS OF MAÑJUŚRĪ

TABLE X

I. Human form.	I. With sword and book.	I. White (symbols on lotus supports) ; <i>vitarka mudrā</i> .	I. Mañjughosha.
		II. Yellow (symbols on lotus supports) ; <i>dharmacakra mudrā</i> ; seated on a lion.	II. Simhanāda-Mañjughosha.
		III. Yellow (sword held in the hand) ; may be <i>simhanāda</i> .	III. Mañjuśrī.
	II. With blue lotus.	I. Yellow (attitude 'royal ease') ; on lion throne.	IV. Mahārājalīla-Mañjuśrī.
		II. Yellow (<i>dharmacakra mudrā</i>) ; leg pendant ; on lion or lion throne.	V. Mañjuśrī.
		III. Yellow (<i>dharmacakra mudrā</i>) ; legs locked ; seated on a lion.	VI. Simhanāda-Mañjuśrī.
		IV. White (<i>dhyāna mudrā</i>) ; from <i>sādhana</i> .	VII. Dharmasankasamādhi-Mañjuśrī.
		V. White (<i>vara mudrā</i>) ; legs locked ; from <i>sādhana</i> .	VIII. Siddhaikavīra-Mañjuśrī.
	III. With sword and <i>utpal</i> .	I. Black or dark blue (kneeling, third eye).	IX. Mañjuśrī.
		I. Yellow (one head, four arms) ; symbols : lotus, book, bow and arrow.	X. Mañjuśrī Jañānasattva.
	II. Tantra forms.	II. Yellow (one head, four to six arms) from <i>sādhana</i> .	XI. Vajrāṇaṅga.
		III. Three or four heads. { a. Three heads, six arms. b. Three or four heads, six or eight arms.	XII. Mañjuvajra.
		IV. Dharmapāla form.	XIII. Dharmadhātu-vagīśvara.
V. Archaic form with <i>śakti</i> .		XIV. Yamāntaka.	

MAÑJUŚRĪ¹ (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(God of Transcendent Wisdom).

(T.) *hḍjam-āpal*² (pleasing splendour).

(M.) *mañjuśrī*.

(C.) *Wēn-shu-shih-li* (文殊師利).

(J.) *Monju*.

Mudrā : *dharmacakra* (turning the Wheel of the Law).

Symbols : *khaḍga* (sword).

pustaka (book—the Prajñāpāramitā).

utpala (blue lotus).

Colour : saffron or white, red or black.

Vāhana (support) : lion.

Śakti : Sarasvatī.

Different names : Mañjughosha, Kumāra, Vajīśvara, &c.

MAÑJUŚRĪ, personification of Transcendent Wisdom, is the first Bodhisattva mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures, and as such his name frequently occurs in the 'Lotus of the Good Law' in connexion with Śākya-muni. In the *Nāmasaṅgīti* he is called 'Ādi-Buddha', while in some of the *sūtras* he is referred to as an historical character.

According to Chinese Buddhism, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was informed by Gautama Buddha that it was his duty to turn the Wheel of the Law for the salvation of the Chinese, and the place chosen for the manifestation was Pañcaśirsha (mountain of five peaks) in the Shan-si province. Legend relates that the five peaks of five different colours were once upon a time of diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and *lapis lazuli*, that a flower grew on each peak of its especial colour, and that a different shaped pagoda was on the summit of each peak.

When the time came for the manifestation of Mañjuśrī, Gautama Buddha caused a golden ray to burst from his forehead. It pierced a *jambu*-tree which grew from the foundation of the mountain Pañcaśirsha. A lotus sprang from the tree, and 'from the interior of the flower was born the prince of sages, Ārya Mañjuśrī. His colour was yellow; he had one face and two arms; in the right hand he brandished the sword of Wisdom; in his left, he carried a book on a lotus of Utpala; he was endowed with the superior and inferior marks of beauty; he was covered with many ornaments, and he was resplendent.'³ Thus he was born without father and mother, and 'free from the pollution of the common world'.

But he is also referred to as being mortal. It is recorded in the Chinese Buddhist books that the activity of Mañjuśrī, in the first century, at Wu-t'ai-shan (mountain of five peaks), was brought to the attention of the Emperor Ming-ti, while, according to the Buddhist writer I-ching, it was popularly believed in India in the seventh century that Mañjuśrī was at that time teaching the doctrine in China.⁴

¹ Mañju-śrī. *Mañju*, according to certain authorities, may possibly be a Tokharian word corresponding to the Sanskrit word *kumāra* (hereditary prince). v. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 221.

² According to Hodgson, *Jam-yang*.

³ Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 138.

⁴ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 114. v. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. i, p. 380.



a. WEN-SHU (MAÑJUŚRĪ)



b. P'U-HSIEN (SAMANTABHADRA)



c. MONJU (MAÑJUŚRĪ)



d. KUAN-YIN

In the *Svayambhū-purāṇa*¹ it is related that Mañjuśrī left Mount Pañcaśirsha to visit the shrine of Svayambhū (Ādi-Buddha), which was on a mountain near the Lake Kālihrada.² He found the lake filled with aquatic monsters and the temple inaccessible. He therefore 'opened, with his sword, many valleys on the southern side of the lake . . . the waters of the lake rushed through the opening, leaving dry land at the bottom', and this was Nepal.

He is believed by some to have been the founder of civilization in Nepal; by others, to have been a 'Wanderer' (mendicant Buddhist priest) who carried Buddhism into Nepal. He is also supposed either to have been, or to have manifested himself as the prime minister³ of the Tibetan king, sRong-tsan-sgam-po, who was sent to India in the seventh century to study the Buddhist scriptures. It is also believed that Mañjuśrī may have been originally the deified hero of one of the Northern Chinese tribes. Mitra claims that he wrote the *Svayambhū-purāṇa* in the tenth century. Both Padmasambhava and Tsoṅ-k'a-pa are said to have been his incarnations.

The first day of the year is dedicated to Mañjuśrī. He is looked upon by certain sects as the god of Agriculture, by others as the Celestial Architect, and is believed to have inspired with his divine intelligence those who have been active in the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine. He is the god of Science, and swings his sword of Wisdom with its flaming point to dissipate the darkness among men, to cleave the clouds of Ignorance. The Chinese say that when he preaches the Law every demon is subjugated, and every error that might deceive man is dissipated. He is an extremely popular deity in all the Northern Buddhist countries, and one often sees his image in magic paintings, charms, and *maṇḍala*.

Mañjuśrī belongs to the group of eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, and is therefore represented like a prince with all the Bodhisattva ornaments. He may have a small image of Akshobhya in his crown, and his *uśnīṣa* is sometimes ornamented at the top by a flaming pearl. The *ūrṇā* is generally on his forehead, and, if painted, his colour is usually yellow, but may also be white, red, or black.

Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣha, as he is frequently called in the *sādhana*, has two distinct types: one with the sword and book, which is his more usual form, and the other with the *utpala* or blue lotus.

The sword symbolizes the cleaving asunder (dissipating) of the clouds of Ignorance; the book⁴ is the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Treatise on Transcendent Wisdom. It is represented in the usual form of the Nepalese book, which is made of palm-leaves, cut long and narrow, the manuscripts being placed between two pieces of flat wood, the whole bound together by a string. The book may be held in the hand of Mañjuśrī, but is more generally supported by a lotus-flower, and surmounting it is sometimes a flaming pearl.⁵

The representation of Mañjuśrī with the sword and book has several variations.

¹ Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 249. v. also Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 116.

² v. Nepalese temple painting, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, No. V.

³ *Thu-mi-Sam-bhota*.

⁴ *Pustaka*; v. Glossary.

⁵ *Cintāmaṇi*; v. Glossary.

1. He is seated with the legs locked ; the right arm is lifted, brandishing the sword ; the left hand holds the book on his lap.¹

2. Like the above, except that the book is supported by a lotus-flower at his left shoulder. The stem of the lotus is held in the left hand in *vitarka mudrā* (Pl. xxxv, fig. a). This form may be on a lion.

3. Both the sword and book are supported by lotus-flowers ; the stems are held by the hands ; the right hand is in *vara mudrā*, the left in *vitarka*, or both hands in *dharmacakra mudrās* (Pl. iii, fig. d, and Pl. xxxv, fig. c). He is white and is usually called *Mañjughoshā*. When this form is standing, it belongs to the group of eight Bodhisattva.

4. Like the above, except that the hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā* ; the left leg is pendant and the deity is seated on a lion or lion throne (Pl. xxxi, fig. b).

The above forms of Mañjuśrī are more commonly found in bronzes, while the forms with the blue lotus are oftenest seen in paintings and sculpture.

The representation of the blue lotus differs from the pink in that the petals are closed, elongated in form, and presented in profile. Sometimes the first row of outside petals is turned back, but the centre of the *utpala* is always hidden by the petals ; but the pink lotus is sometimes used as support for Mañjuśrī's symbols.

There are various forms of Mañjuśrī holding the blue lotus, which symbolizes the teachings of the Buddha :

1. *Mahārājalīla-Mañjuśrī*. He is seated, as his name indicates, in the attitude called 'royal ease', with the right knee lifted, over which hangs the right arm ; the left leg is bent ; the left hand, holding the stem of the *utpala* (which is on a level with the left shoulder), leans on the lion throne or on the back of the lion support. If painted, he is yellow. Several very fine examples of this form were found in the Magadha, and one of them, seated on a lion, reverses the above attitude, the left knee being lifted.² *Mahārājalīla-Mañjuśrī*, when seated on a lion, closely resembles the *Simhanāda-Lokeśvara*, but the latter may be identified either by the antelope skin over his left shoulder (Pl. xxxv, fig. d) or by a trident,³ while the *Mañjuśrī* has no distinguishing mark besides the blue lotus, not even the sword, which, in the representations of the *Simhanāda-Lokeśvara*, usually rises from the lotus-flower. If painted, they are easily identified, for the *Mahārājalīla-Mañjuśrī* is yellow on a blue lion, while the *Lokeśvara* is white on a white lion.

2. He is seated with legs closely locked, or, if on a lion or a lion throne, with the right leg pendant. The hands are in *dharmacakra* (teaching) *mudrā*, with the stem of the *utpala*, which is on a level with his left shoulder, wound around the left arm above the elbow. If painted, he is yellow.

3. *Mañjuśrī* may be seated on the lion throne with the left leg pendant ; the hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*, and the *utpala* is at the left shoulder. His colour is yellow.

4. Like the above, except that the legs are locked and he is seated on a lion.

5. He is seated with the legs locked ; the hands are in *dhyāna mudrā*. This form is white, and is called *Dharmaśamkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī*.

¹ In Java the book is sometimes held at the breast.

² A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie i, illus., p. 115.

³ Ibid., partie ii, p. 38.



a. MAÑJUŚRĪ



b. MAÑJUŚRĪ



c. MAÑJUŚRĪ



d. SIMHANĀDA-LOKEŚVARA

6. Like the above, except that the right hand is in *vara mudrā* and the left holds the stem of the lotus. He is also white, and is called *Siddhaikavīra*.

Mañjuśrī may have only the sword and *utpala*, and be sitting, standing, or kneeling on one knee.¹ The right arm, which is lifted, holds the sword, and around the left arm is wound the stem of the lotus. If painted in this form he is black, and has the third eye.

There are various other forms of Mañjuśrī:

Mañjuvajra is a form of Mañjuśrī represented with his *śakti*. Both have three heads (the centre head is red; the one to the right, blue; to the left, white). Symbols: two *vajras*, a sword and lotus, bow and arrow. The *yab* is red and the *yum* is pink.

Vajrānaṅga, Ārya-Mañjughosha, is a form of Mañjuśrī used to bewitch men and women.

In order to bewitch a woman, the deity is to be imagined as piercing her bosom with his arrow, which has a lotus-bud head. He has Akshobhya in his crown, is painted yellow, and is looked upon by the Mantra sects as god of Love. He has six arms, and holds at the right an arrow with a lotus-bud head, a lotus, and an *aśoka* branch; while at the left he carries a bow of flowers, a sword, and a mirror.²

Dharmadhātu Mañjuśrī is seated. He has four heads: centre, white; to right, saffron; to left, reddish yellow; behind, rose. He has eight arms; the normal arms are in 'teaching' *mudrā*; the six others hold sword, book, bow and arrow, &c.

Mañjuśrī, archaic form (see illustration, Pl. xxxv, fig. b). He is with his *śakti*, whom he holds on his knee in the archaic fashion, instead of in the attitude *yab-yum*. He has five heads, the fifth being above the central one, and eight arms, with four holding swords and the others books. He may also hold the sword and lotus with various other symbols (Pl. xix, fig. c).

Mañjuśrī is one of the 'eight Terrible Ones' in his Dharmapāla form of Yamāntaka. His head, yellow in colour and with a slightly irritated expression, is usually above the head between the horns of the Bhairava form of Yamāntaka (Pl. lii, figs. c and d).

In China as 'Wenshu', and in Japan as 'Monju', Mañjuśrī is seldom worshipped, except in a triad with the Buddha and Samantabhadra. He is represented in both countries seated on a lion and holding a sword (Pl. xxxiv, figs. a and c), but he is sometimes confused with Samantabhadra and is given his symbol, the mace (*nyo-i*), to carry. Mañjuśrī is looked upon as having eternal youth, and may be represented in the temple banners of China and Japan as a youth with flowing hair, seated on a lion and drawing his sword; or the hair may be arranged in five knots on the top of his head, which are said to represent the 'Mountain of the Five Peaks'.

The monastery of Wu-t'ai in the Shan-si province is one of the most holy places of pilgrimages in China, and Mañjuśrī is worshipped there by the Mongols as well as by the Chinese.

¹ v. Pl. lxiii, fig. g.

² v. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 22.

MAHASTHĀMAPRĀPTA (Dhyāni-Bodhisattva)

(He that has obtained great strength).

(C.) *Tai-shih-chih* (大勢至).
(J.) *Sei-shi*, or *Dai-sei-shi*.Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).
vara (charity).

Mahāsthāmaprāpta is believed to be the deification of Maudgalyāyana, 'the right hand disciple of Gautama',¹ and although a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, he does not belong to either the group of five or of eight Dhyāni-Bodhisattva. He is mentioned with Avalokiteśvara in the Lotus of the Good Law as well as in the *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, which dates from the first century A. D., but Mahāsthāmaprāpta attained little popularity in India and was rarely represented in either paintings or bronzes in India, Nepal, or Tibet.

In China, however, one frequently finds him in a triad at the right of Om-i-t'o fo (Amitābha), with Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) at the left, which is the place of honour in China. He is figured standing, with the right hand in *vitarka mudrā* and the left in *varaḍa*. He holds no symbols.

When Amitābha became one of the most important deities in Japan, Seishi (Mahāsthāmaprāpta) grew in popularity as manifestation of the wisdom of Amida. He is often met with in a triad with Kwan-non and Amida, where he is usually at the right with the hands in prayer *mudrā*. There may be a vase in his crown. He is rarely represented outside of the triad, but there is a statue of Mahāsthāmaprāpta at the Zen-ko-ji temple, said to have been made by Śākya-muni from gold found at the foot of a Beiruri tree on the south side of Mount Meru.

In Japanese temple banners representing the descent of Amida from the Western Paradise, surrounded by a celestial assembly, to receive the soul of a faithful Amidist, Seishi is figured at the left of Amida either standing or kneeling, holding the lotus which is to receive and guard in its calyx the spiritual body of one who has attained the felicity of rebirth on the sacred lake of the Pure Land.²

TRAILOKYA-VIJAYA³

(Subduer of the Three Worlds).

(C.) *Kiang san kie* (降三界).
(J.) *Gō-san-ze*.
Mudrā : *vajra-hūṃ-kāra*.Symbols : *vajra* (thunderbolt).
ghaṇṭā (bell).
Colour : blue.

In the *Trailokya-vijaya sādhana*, translated into French by M. A. Foucher,⁴ there is the following description of this divinity, about whom very little is as yet known : On a sun (red platform) from the blue syllable 'Hūṃ !' was born the lord Trailokya-

¹ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 28, and note ii, and Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 205.

² For description v. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, pp. 108 seq.

³ *Trai* (*tri*, three), *loka* (*loka*, world), *vijaya* (conqueror). v. *Loka*.

⁴ *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 58, illus., p. 59.

vijaya; he is blue, with four faces and eight arms: his first face expresses amorous fury; that at the right, anger; that at the left, disgust; the face at the back, heroism; with his two (original) hands holding the bell and thunderbolt, he makes on his breast the gesture called *vajra-hūṃ-kāra*; his three hands at the right hold (beginning at the top) a sword, elephant-goad, and an arrow; the hands at the left carry (beginning from below) the bow, lasso, and a disk; he stands in the *pratyāṭīḍha* attitude, stepping to the right on the breast of Pārvatī and with the left foot treading on the head of Siva;¹ among other ornaments, he wears a garland made of little images of Buddha.

In the court-yard of the Brahman convent at Bodh'-Gayā there is the statue of a divinity which corresponds with this description in every particular, except the minor detail of the bow and arrow being held in different hands in the statue from the description in the *sādhana*.²

In Java, Trailokya-vijaya is also represented with eight arms and four heads, the usual symbols, and treading on two personages; but the right knee is much more bent than in the Tibetan examples.³

In Indo-China, while the deity as such seems unknown, the name of Trailokya-vijaya occurs in inscriptions such as at Bantāy Nān, where the deity is referred to as a Buddha; and according to the inscriptions on a monolith in the depot at Angkor Wat, the Buddhas in *Dhyāna mudrā* on the monolith are none other than Trailokya-vijaya.⁴ We can only explain this by the supposition that the Mahāyānists of Indo-China were acquainted with the esoteric doctrine; for, to those who were initiated into its hidden meaning, Vajrasattva was the aspect of Vairocana-Buddha when departing from his infinite quietude to manifest himself in the World, while Trailokya-vijaya was his active aspect in the 'Three Worlds', and therefore in reality a Buddha.

Trailokya-vijaya (Gō-san-ze) is worshipped in Japan as one of the group of Devas who are called *myō-ō* (*mahā deva*). He is believed to wage war against and conquer the evil spirits who pretend to have created the Universe and to be Protectors of the Three Worlds, and who seek to upset the laws of Karma. He is represented making the *mudrā* of anger (*jō fudō*) with both hands, and the wrists are crossed to indicate intensity of anger.

In the Vajradhātu there is a magic circle of nine assemblies. The eighth assembly is called Trailokya-vijaya-karma, or the 'three-world-subduing-action-assembly'. Nanjio writes⁵ that 'it shows the state of Mahā-krodha-kāya (great-anger-body) manifested by Vajrasattva⁶ to destroy the enemies of the three worlds'. Again, in the ninth assembly, there is reference to Vajrasattva. 'It shows the state of the form of Samaya or argument⁷ of Vajrasattva who holds the bow and arrow.'⁸ We see

¹ According to Tibetan tradition they are Manesvara and Gaurī.

² v. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, fig. 4.

³ v. Foucher, *Buddhist Art in Java*, B.E.F.E.O., vol. ix, p. 168, Pl. XLIII.

⁴ Finot, *Inscriptions d'Añkor*, B.E.F.E.O., vol.

xxv, Pl. xxxi.

⁵ *A Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects*, p. 95.

⁶ v. *Vajrasattva*.

⁷ Is not 'agreement' here meant? Samaya means: convention, contract, engagement, and also 'identification with the Buddha'.

⁸ v. *Kongō-satta*.

from this that in Japan Vajrasattva is the *Subduer of the Three Worlds* ; first, to destroy the enemies of Buddhism in the three worlds, and, secondly, when holding the bow and arrow, to warn living beings. It might be inferred from this that Trailokya-vijaya is a special manifestation of Vajrasattva when conquering the celestial and terrestrial worlds, as well as the 'under' world.

FEMININE DIVINITIES ¹

TABLE XI

I. One head.	I. Two arms.	I. Attributes.	I. Green; right foot pendant on lotus support	Green Tārā.	
			II. White; legs locked	White Tārā.	
			III. Yellow; right foot may be pendant	Yellow Tārā.	
		II. Lute	Sarasvatī.		
	III. Lute and white snake	Āryajāngulī.			
	IV. Chopper and skull cup	Ekajāṭā.			
	II. Four to sixteen arms	Cundā.			
	III. Eight arms, sword, wheel, arrow, lotus	Ekajāṭā with Tārā.			
	II. Several heads.	I. One three heads.	I. Two to six arms	I. Draws the bow, dancing	Kurukullā.
				II. {	I. Angry, red
II. Calm, white					Bhṛikuṭī (calm).
III. Vase, spike of grain				Vasudhārā.	
IV. Book		Prajñāpāramitā.			
II. Six to ten arms.		I. One head, two arms	Māricī.		
		II. Three heads, of which one is that of a sow	Māricī.		
II. Three heads		I. Six arms	Bhṛikuṭī (angry).		
		II. Six or eight arms, apron of leaves	Paṇṣāvarī.		
		III. {	I. Double thunderbolt	Ushṇishavijayā.	
			II. Two parasols, third eye, sometimes four heads	Sitātapatrā.	

Mahāmāyūrī.

Dākinī { Vajravarāhī.
Naro-mk'a-spyod-ma.
Vajra-dākinī.
Simhavaktrā.

The Pañca Rakṣā.

The Pañca Dhyāni-Buddha Śakti { Vajradhātviśvarī.
Locanā.
Māmakī.
Pāṇḍarā.
Tārā.

¹ Table of J. Deniker.

FEMININE DIVINITIES

UNTIL the female principle was glorified by Kṛishṇa, the Aryans had exclusively worshipped Agni, the male principle in the universe, their only feminine divinity being the virgin goddess of the Dawn, Ushas.

The Aryans did not admit the feminine principle in their worship until civilization in India had become more refined, but, at the same time, weakened. Brahmā was given a feminine counterpart—Sarasvatī, goddess of Speech and Learning and patroness of the Arts and Sciences ; Viṣṇu received as consort the goddess of Love and Beauty, Lakshmī ; while the Mahā-Devī, Pārvatī, whose ferocious forms are Durgā and Kālī, goddess of Death, became the *śakti* of Śiva.

The Mahāyāna school had also its period of the exclusive adoration of the male principle, from the first to the middle of the fourth century A. D., at which epoch the Yoga system was grafted on to the Northern Buddhist school by Asaṅga, and the adoration of the feminine principle was introduced in the form of the goddess Tārā. In the seventh century she took on two distinct forms, and in the succeeding centuries her forms multiplied, forming a group of twenty-one Tārās. Other goddesses, also having the rank of Bodhisattva, made their appearance, but none of them gained the popularity of Tārā.

By the seventh century the corrupt influence of the Tantra system had begun to weaken the austerity of the Northern Buddhist school, and not only did Tantra, or ferocious forms of the goddesses, appear, but the adoration of the *śakti*, or female energy of a god, was introduced, and the 'green' Tārā was declared the *śakti* of Avalokiteśvara.

Gradually the popular belief throughout Tibet and Mongolia developed in favour of the view that a god was more disposed to listen to and grant their requests when worshipped in company with his *śakti*. As a result, nearly every god was given a female energy, who was represented with him in the *yab-yum*¹ attitude, which was the final sign of degradation of the Mahāyāna school.

In China the only feminine divinity whose popularity equalled the masculine deities was the goddess Kuan-yin. She was, however, not worshipped as the consort of Avalokiteśvara, but as a feminine manifestation of the god himself, for a specific purpose—as was also the goddess Kwan-non in Japan.

The worship of the *śakti* was never adopted in China or Japan. The only representations of a god in *yab-yum* attitude are found in the few Lama temples still existing in China.

In Japan several goddesses of the Mahāyāna pantheon are worshipped ; but in both China and Japan the male principle alone is considered of primal importance, since no woman, without gaining masculinity through re-incarnation, can enter Sukhāvatī, the paradise of Amida.

¹ v. Glossary.

■

PLATE XXXVI

WHITE TĀRĀ OF THE 'SEVEN EYES'

■



There are three forms of feminine divinities : goddesses with rank of Bodhisattva, *śakti*, and *ḍākinī*.

The goddesses are divided into two classes : the pacific and the angry.

The *pacific goddesses* are generally represented seated, and wear the thirteen Bodhisattva ornaments, including the five-leaved crown. They are of smiling expression, and usually have the *ūrṇā* on the forehead. The hair is long and wavy.

The *angry goddesses*, with dishevelled hair, the third eye, and Tantra ornaments and attributes, resemble the Dharmapāla form of the gods.

The *śakti* are rarely represented alone, but in the embrace of the gods, and are of pacific or angry form according to the god with whom they are represented. They are generally covered at the hips by a tiger or lion skin, and have either Bodhisattva or Tantra ornaments and attributes.

The *ḍākinī* are divinities of lesser rank, and are generally represented standing in a dancing attitude. Although they may have either pacific or angry forms, they are always represented with Tantra ornaments and attributes, and generally carry the *khaṭvāṅga*, or magic stick claimed to have been invented by Padmasambhava. The *ḍākinī* are believed to have given to the *guru* Padmasambhava the books in an unknown language, on which he is said to have founded the doctrines he preached in Tibet.

There is a group of five *ḍākinī* that seems to correspond with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas and Bodhisattva :

Buddha *ḍākinī* holding a wheel.

Vajra " " thunderbolt.

Ratna " " jewel.

Padma " " lotus.

Viśva " " double (thunderbolt).

Pander¹ gives still another *ḍākinī* called ' Karma ', holding a sword.

TĀRĀ (rank of Bodhisattva)

(The Saviouress).

(T.) *sgrol-ma* (dōl-ma), or *röl-ma* (the Saviouress).

(M.) *dara eke* (Tārā, the mother).

(C.) *T'o-lo* (多羅).

(J.) *Ro-tara-ni-bi*, or Tārā bosatsu.

Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).
vara (charity).

Symbol : *padma* (lotus).

Colour : white or green.

Tantra forms : blue, yellow, or red.

Consort of Avalokiteśvara : white.

Śakti of Avalokiteśvara : green.

Different names : Jāngulī, Ekajāṭā, Bhṛikuṭī,
Kurukullā, Sitatārā, &c.

The goddess Tārā was enrolled among the Northern Buddhist gods in the sixth century ; by the seventh, according to Hsüan Tsang, there were many statues of her in Northern India, and between the eighth and twelfth centuries her popularity

¹ *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, p. 91, No. 226.

equalled that of any god in the Mahāyāna pantheon. Many temples and colleges were dedicated to her, and there was hardly a household altar without a statue of Tārā. Her worship extended to Java, where a temple was dedicated to her about 779 A.D.; but neither Tārā nor any other goddess was worshipped in Ceylon¹ or Burma. The Southern Buddhist school never adopted the feminine divinities.

'Tārā', the Sanskrit name of the goddess, according to M. de Blonay, is derived from the root 'tar' (to cross). In other words, Tārā helps to cross the Ocean of Existence. The Tibetan translation of 'Tārā' is *sgrol-ma* (pro. döl-ma), which means 'saviouress' or 'deliveress'. Her Mongolian name 'Dara eke' means 'Tārā mother', and she is called the 'mother of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas'. The faithful may appeal to her directly without the intermediary of a lama, which is not the case with the other deities of first rank, and possibly accounts for her great popularity.

Her titles are to the mystic number of 108, and the manual of worship of Tārā is commonly found throughout Tibet. It is called the 'Praises and Spells (*dhāraṇī*) of the pure, original Tārā', and is believed to have been written by the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana;² but the author was more probably the monk Vairocana, who lived in the eighth century.

There are infinite legends in regard to the origin of Tārā, one of them being that she was born from a blue ray that shone from the eye of Amitābha. The generally accepted legend, however, is that a tear fell from the eye of the god of Misericordia Avalokiteśvara, and, falling in the valley beneath, formed a lake. From the waters of the lake arose a lotus-flower, which, opening its petals, disclosed the pure goddess Tārā.

The lamas believed that Tārā was incarnate in all good women, and in the seventh century they declared the two pious wives of the Tibetan Buddhist king, sRong-tsan-gsam-po, incarnations of Tārā. She was then given two distinct forms: the 'white', believed to be incarnate in the Chinese princess Wen-ch'eng, daughter of a Chinese prince belonging to the Imperial family;³ and the 'green', incarnate in the Nepalese princess Bribsun, daughter of the Newar king Aṃśu Varman. The white and green Tārās thus became distinct deities. The former was given as symbol the full-blown white lotus, while the latter carried the *utpala*, or blue lotus with the petals closed.

As the lotus opens by day and closes by night, the white Tārā with the full-blown lotus, and the dark Tārā with the *utpala* having its petals closed, may symbolize 'day' and 'night'.⁴ Or in other words, since they were born from the tears shed by Avalokiteśvara, they may represent his never-ceasing grief at the miseries of mankind. Or they might also symbolize the willingness of Tārā to soothe human

¹ A plaque, considered to be of the ninth century, however, has been found in Ceylon, on which is inscribed a prayer to the goddess Tārā.

² Also alleged to have been composed by the first of the seven mythical Dhyāni-Buddhas, Vipasyi.

³ Wen-ch'eng is believed to have brought with her from China the sandal-wood statue of the Buddha, which is now at Lhasa; it is said to be

gilded.

⁴ In the *Vibhāṣāśāstra* the question is asked, What is it determines the period of day and night in Heaven? The reply is that it is determined 'by the closing of the Padma flower and the opening of the Utpala flower: in the former case, it is night; in the latter, day.' Beal, *Catena*, p. 78.



a. TĀRĀ



b. TĀRĀ (SĪMHAṆĀDA)



c. TĀRĀ



d. TĀRĀ

suffering by day as well as by night, for it is believed that Avalokiteśvara imposed on her that duty.

In support of the above hypothesis, M. de Blonay mentions a representation of Tārā found in a Jain temple in the fort of Dambal.¹ She is seated, holding a full-blown lotus in her hand. To the right is a sun, to the left a moon under which is a standing figure holding a lotus with its hand in *namaḥkāra* (prayer) *mudrā*. In the library of the Institut de France there is a temple-painting of Padmapāṇi, with the sun emanating from the right eye and the moon from the left (see Padmapāṇi with twelve emanations). The white Tārā was born from a tear which fell from the right eye, and the green Tārā from a tear from the left eye of Avalokiteśvara.² It is also interesting to note that the second Tārā in the group of twenty-one Tārās is called 'of white moon brightness', and that the seventeenth Tārā carries a sun and a moon.

The Tantra forms of Tārā made their appearance when the Northern Buddhist school became weakened by the pernicious influence of the Tantra system. These ferocious forms of the goddess were represented in the three colours: red, yellow, and blue, which, with the white and green pacific forms, completed the five colours of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas of whom they were believed to be the *śakti*.

In the collection of Tibetan temple pictures belonging to M. Bacot, there is a painting of Tārā with 'one thousand heads and arms'. The heads are arranged in two rows on either side of the central row, superposed one above the other *ad infinitum*, and the five rows are painted green, red, white, yellow, and blue. She is represented standing, which is very unusual in Tibetan representations of the goddess (Pl. xxxviii).

The Tārās are almost always seated, but if they accompany Avalokiteśvara, or any other important god, they are usually standing. Tārā may be surrounded by her own manifestations as well as by other gods.

The non-Tantra forms of Tārā wear all the Bodhisattva ornaments, and are smiling and graceful. Their hair is abundant and wavy. The Tantra forms have the ornaments and symbols of the Dharmapāla, with the hair dishevelled and the third eye.

In Japan Tārā is found more often in temple banners than in statues, and is little worshipped.

The Japanese believe that Tārā made two vows: to conquer evil (as green Tārā) and to save human beings (as white Tārā). There is, however, in Japan, but one form of the goddess. She holds the lotus, and may be making 'charity' and 'argument' *mudrā*, or have the hands folded. Her colour is a whitish green, and she never has eyes on the palms of her hands or the soles of her feet like the Tibetan white Tārā. She holds the blue lotus or the *kichi-jō-kwa* (pomegranate), which is believed, as in India, to be the symbol of fecundity.

In China her worship is practically unknown, although Hsüan Tsang mentions a statue of the goddess Tārā, 'of great height and endowed with divine penetration',

¹ Godefroy de Bloney, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse bouddhique Tārā*, p. 9.

² It is interesting to note that the Japanese sun

goddess, Amaterasu, was born from the left eye of the Shintō god Izanagi, while the god of the moon was produced from his right eye.

and says that on the first day of each year, kings, ministers, and powerful men of the neighbouring countries brought flower offerings of exquisite perfume, and that the religious ceremonies lasted for eleven days with great pomp.

WHITE TĀRĀ

(S.) Sita-tārā.

(T.) *sgrol-dkar* (pro. *dō-kar*) (the white saviouress).

(M.) *ḡaghan dara eke* (the white mother Tārā).

Mudrā : *vitarka* (argument).
vara (charity).

Symbol : *padma* (full-blown white lotus).
Consort of Avalokiteśvara.

The white Tārā symbolizes perfect purity, and is believed to represent Transcendent Wisdom, which secures everlasting bliss to its possessor. She is the consort of Avalokiteśvara, and is represented at his right hand, generally standing.

In Tibet she is considered a form of the green Tārā, but in Mongolia, where the goddess is extremely popular, she is looked upon as equal, if not superior, to the green Tārā.

This form of Tārā is white, as she is believed to have been incarnate in the Chinese wife of the Buddhist king sRong-tsan-sgam-po, who was of white complexion according to Buddhist accounts, but was probably painted, following the Chinese custom.

When alone or surrounded by acolytes, Sita-tārā is represented seated, with the legs locked, the soles of the feet turned upward (Pl. xxxvii, fig. *d*). She wears the same garments and ornaments as a Bodhisattva, and her hair is abundant and wavy. Her right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*, and her left, holding the stem of the full-blown lotus, is in 'argument' *mudrā*. She generally has the third eye of fore-knowledge, and if there are eyes on the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet, she is called 'Tārā of the Seven Eyes' (Pl. xxxvi). This form is most popular in Mongolia, and may be found (but rarely) in China. As the *śakti* of Amoghasiddi (according to the system of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas) she is represented seated with legs closely locked, her hands in 'argument' and 'charity' *mudrā*, holding the stems of lotus-flowers which support the *viśvavajra* or double thunderbolt, symbol of the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha.¹

Jāṅgulī-Tārā, Dispeller of Poison, is a Tantra form of Sita-Tārā, and is invoked to cure serpent stings. She is represented with four arms; with the normal ones she plays on a lute, with the second right hand she makes the *mudrā* of protection, and with the second left hand she holds a snake. If painted, she is white,² as well as her clothes, ornaments, and the *snake* she holds.

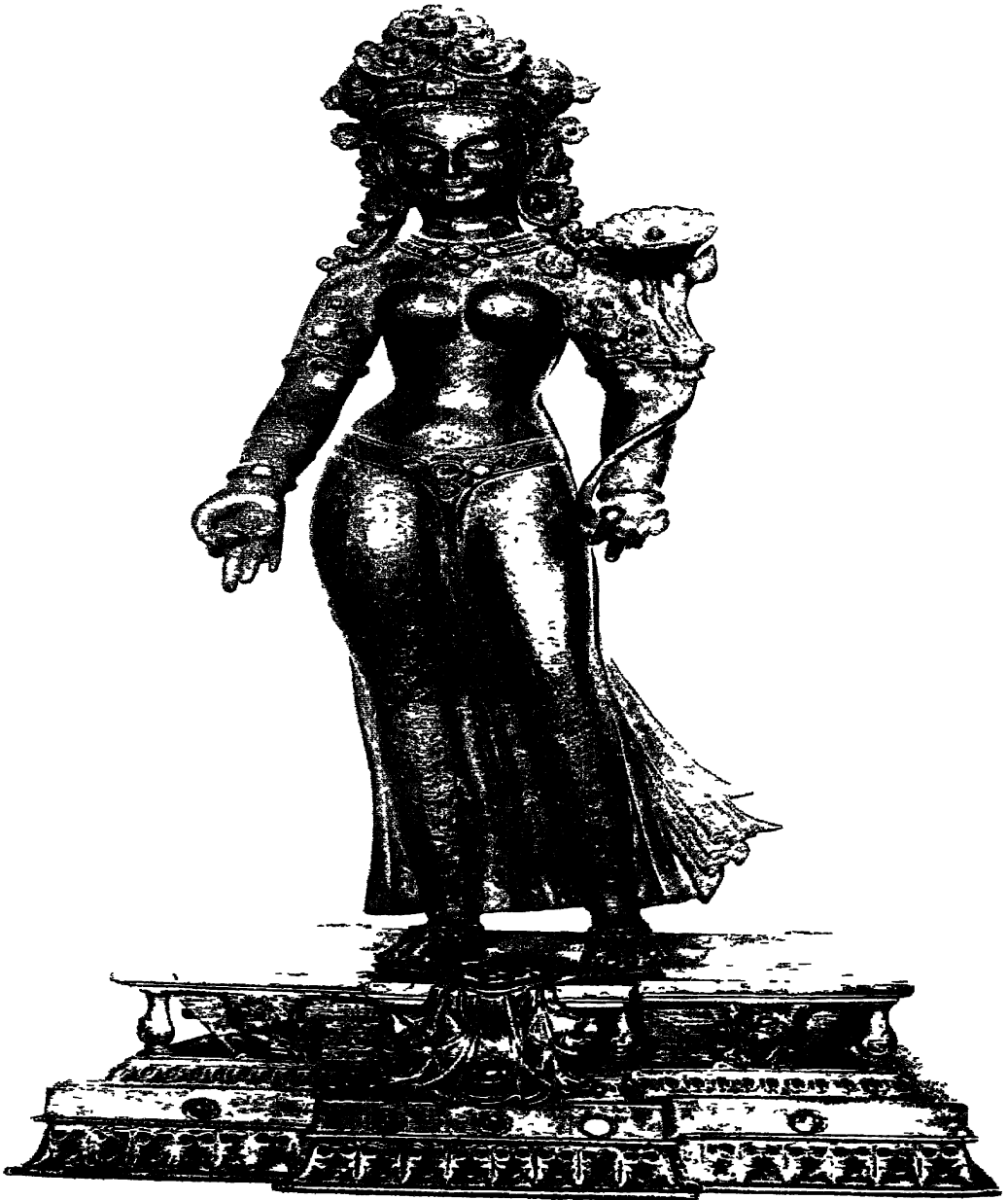
It is interesting to note that, in Japan, Sarasvatī is worshipped in the form of a

¹ Represented on the walls of the Vihar of Yama Gutī in Cathmandu.

² There is a green form of Jāṅgulī with four

arms, and a yellow form with six arms and three heads. For illus. v. Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, fig. 6.

PLATE XXXVIII



TĀRĀ

white snake. The lute which the Jāṅgulī-Tārā carries is the special symbol of Sarasvatī, while the white snake, which is the special symbol of the Jāṅgulī-Tārā, symbolizes Sarasvatī !

One of the *sādhana* in the *Sāadhanamālā* describes Sitatārā in a triad with the goddess Mārīcī at her right, while at her left is the Golden Peacock goddess, Mahāmāyūrī. She is to be imagined with three eyes in each of her three heads and wearing many ornaments. In her crown, the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are figured. She has four arms. The normal arms are in *utpala mudrā* ; while the second pair of arms hold : right, a *cintāmanī* ; left, an *utpala* bud.

GREEN TĀRĀ

(S.) Śyāmatārā.

(T.) <i>sgrol-ljan</i> (pro. <i>dō-ṅgon</i>) (the green saviouress).	Mudrā : <i>vitarka</i> (argument). <i>vara</i> (charity).
(M.) <i>noghghan dara eke</i> (the green mother Tārā).	Symbol : <i>utpala</i> (blue lotus, closed). <i>Śakti</i> of Avalokiteśvara.

The green Tārā is considered by the Tibetans to be the original Tārā. In fact, the Tibetan name for the goddess is *dō-ṅgon*, which means 'the original Tārā' ; but *ṅgon* (original) has been confused by the ignorant lamas with *sngo*, meaning 'green' (or blue), and the epithet 'green' has become inseparable from this form of Tārā, which symbolizes the Divine Energy.

She is represented seated on a lotus-throne, the right leg pendant, with the foot¹ supported by a small lotus, the stem of which is attached to the lotus-throne. She is slender and graceful in her pose, which is somewhat more animated than that of the white Tārā. She is dressed like a Bodhisattva and wears the thirteen ornaments, and usually the five-leaved crown (Pl. xxxvii, figs. *a* and *c*).

Her hair is abundant and wavy. Her right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*, and her left, which is in 'argument' *mudrā*, holds the blue lotus presented in profile.

The *utpala* is represented either with all the petals closed or the central petals closed, while the outside rows are turned back. The artists, however, do not always follow tradition, and sometimes erroneously give the green Tārā the full-blown lotus of the white Tārā (Pl. xxxviii). She may be represented 'Simhanāda', that is to say, that her lotus-throne is supported by a roaring lion (Pl. xxxvii, fig. *b*). The goddess may also be represented with a small image of Amoghasiddhi in her head-dress, both when alone or as a *śakti*, and she usually has the *ūrṇā* on her forehead.

If represented in company with several gods, she is usually at the left of the principal god, but in miniatures is sometimes at the right of Avalokiteśvara. She may be accompanied by eight green Tārās or only by her manifestation, Ekajaṭā, and the goddess Mārīcī, or by Jāṅgulī and the goddess Mahāmāyūrī.

¹ In one of the miniatures in the MS. Add. 1643 in the University Library, Cambridge, she may have both legs pendant.

In the latter case she is called *Dhanada*, 'giver of treasures', and has four arms. The upper normal ones make the usual *mudrā*, while the other two hold a lasso and elephant-goad.

The green form of the Jāngulī-Tārā has four arms and holds Tantra symbols.

The 'Tārās of the four Dreads' is a group of four ferocious Tārās, of which, unfortunately, the author has been unable to find either examples or description.

The titles of the twenty-one Tārās,¹ according to Mr. Waddell, are the following :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Tārā the supremely valiant. | 12. Tārā brightly glorious. |
| 2. „ of white-moon brightness. | 13. „ universal nature worker |
| 3. „ the golden coloured. | 14. „ with frowning brows. |
| 4. „ the victorious hair-crowned. | 15. „ giver of prosperity. |
| 5. „ the 'Hun' shouter. | 16. „ subduer of passions. |
| 6. „ the three world best worker. | 17. „ supplier of happiness. |
| 7. „ suppressor of strife. | 18. „ excessively vast. |
| 8. „ bestower of supreme power. | 19. „ dispeller of distress. |
| 9. „ the best providence. | 20. Realization of spiritual power. |
| 10. „ dispeller of grief. | 21. Completely perfect. |
| 11. „ cherisher of the poor. | |

In Tibetan temple banners, the Green Tārā may be figured surrounded by a double rainbow glory in which are represented the group of twenty-one Tārās, of which ten are white, five are red, five are yellow, and in the centre is the Green Tārā. In the corner of the painting to the right is the White Tārā 'of the Seven Eyes'; to the left is the goddess Ushṇīṣhaviyā. In the lower right-hand corner is the Dhar mapāla, Begt'se, while in the left-hand lower corner is the god Hayagrīva, with three horses' heads in his up-standing hair. Both of these deities are red in colour. Underneath the lotus throne of the Green Tārā, surrounded by flames, is the *dākinī* Simhāvaktrā.

YELLOW TĀRĀS

Bhṛikuṭī.

(The goddess that frowns.)

(T.) *k'ro-gñyer-can-ma* (she whose face is wrinkled with anger [or frowning]).

(M.) *kilingtū eke* (the angry mother).

(J.) *Bikuchi* (毗俱胝).

Mudrā: *vara* (charity).

Symbols: *triśūla* (trident).

mālā (rosary).

padma (lotus).

kalasa (vase).

Bhṛikuṭī, according to certain *sādhanas*, is an emanation of Amitābha, and may have an image of the Buddha of Infinite Light in her head-dress. Although she has peaceful manifestations, she is as a rule represented in the angry form of Tārā, in

¹ For description of the twenty-one Tārās, see Waddell, 'The Indian Buddhist cult of Avalokita

and his consort Tārā', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1894.

which case she has one head and four arms. The lower right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā*, sometimes holding a lotus; the upper one holds a rosary. In the left hands are a trident and a vase. She is generally standing, especially if she accompanies Amoghapāśa, a form of Avalokiteśvara, but, according to a *sādhana* translated by M. Foucher, she may be reclining. She has the third eye, and her brows are frowning.

Bhṛikuṭī may also have three heads and six arms, but in this form she is blue (v. *Blue Tārā*).

Khadiravāṇī-Tārā is a form of the yellow Tārā. She is represented seated, with the right leg pendant, but the foot is not supported by a small lotus *āsana* like the green Tārā. The right hand is in 'charity' *mudrā* and holds the stem of a full-blown lotus-flower. The left hand is in 'argument' *mudrā* and holds the stems of an *utpala*. She may be accompanied by the goddesses Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā.

Vajra-Tārā is represented with four heads, eight arms, and the third eye. She is often found in *maṇḍala*, where the four doors of the magic circle are guarded by the Yoginī (fairies) Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭī, and Vajraghaṇṭā. The four corners are guarded by four Tārās, 'of the flowers', 'of the incense', 'of the lamp', and 'of the perfume'. The right hands hold a thunderbolt, arrow, and conch-shell, and form the *mudrā* 'charity'. The left hands hold the blue lotus, bow, elephant goad, and lasso. If painted, she is yellow.¹

Jāṅgulī-Tārā is represented with three heads and six arms. The yellow form does not carry the lute as does the white Jāṅgulī, but holds all Tantra symbols.

BLUE TĀRĀ

Ekajaṭā (or Ekajaṭī)

(She who has but one chignon)

or Ugra-Tārā (the ferocious Tārā).

(T.) *ral-gcig-ma* (lit. 'she who has one knot of hair').

Ekajaṭā, the blue Tārā, is the most powerful of all the goddesses, for even to listen to her mantra repeated destroys all obstacles, brings good luck and intense religious enjoyment.

Ekajaṭā is a ferocious form of Tārā, and, with Lhamo, is one of the most terrifying manifestations in the Mahāyāna pantheon. In her simplest form she is the assistant of the green Tārā, and is represented seated, holding in her two hands the chopper and skull cup, and in her crown is an image of Akshobhya.

When not the assistant of Tārā, she has from four to twenty-four arms, and is generally standing and stepping to the right on corpses. She has the third eye, is laughing horribly, her teeth are prominent, and her protruding tongue, according to the *sādhana*, is forked. Her eyes are red and round. Her hips are covered by a

¹ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 69 and fig. 5.

tiger-skin, and she wears a long garland of heads. If painted, her colour is blue, and her chignon is red. She is dwarfed and corpulent. Her ornaments are snakes. If she has but four arms her symbols are : sword, knife, blue lotus, and a skull cup, or she may carry the bow and arrow instead of the two last symbols. If she has twenty-four arms, she carries several non-Tantra symbols and the rest are all Tantra. They are the following :

1. Sword.	9. Bludgeon.	17. Hammer.
2. Thunderbolt.	10. Knife.	18. Trident.
3. Disk.	11. Tambourine.	19. Cup.
4. Jewels.	12. Rosary.	20. Blue Lotus.
5. Elephant goad.	13. Bow.	21. Bell.
6. Arrow.	14. Lasso.	22. Chopper.
7. Lance.	15. Index raised.	23. Brahmā head.
8. Hammer.	16. Flag.	24. Skull cup.

RED TĀRĀ

Kurukullā

(Goddess of Wealth).

(T.) *ku-ru-ku-le* (goddess of Wealth).
 Mudrā : *abhaya* (blessing of Fearless-
 ness).

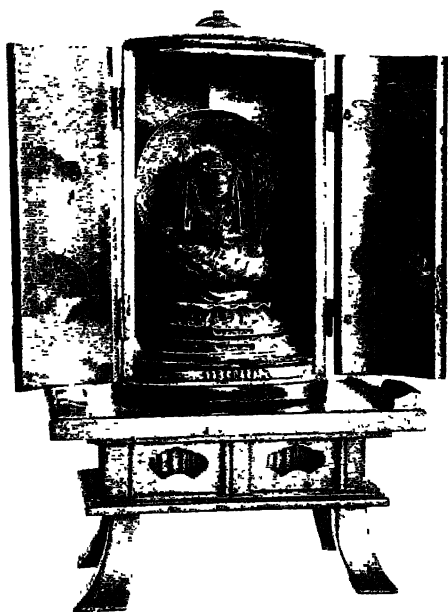
Mantra : *Oṃ Kurukulle Hum Hṛīḥ Svāhā !*
 Symbols : *cāpa* (bow).
śara (arrow).

The goddess Kurukullā is called by M. Foucher 'the heart of Tārā'. She is worshipped by unhappy lovers, but can only be invoked when no woman is near. She is believed to be particularly successful in bewitching men and women, and her mantra repeated ten thousand times is said to bring about all one's desires. Red is the colour of love in India, and according to the *sādhana* translated by M. Foucher :¹ The Happy One is red of colour ; red is the lotus on which she is seated ; red is her clothing ; red, her crown ; she has four arms ; at the right, she makes the *abhaya mudrā*, and with the other hand holds the arrow ; at the left, with one hand she holds the precious bow, and with the other the red lotus. Amitābha is seated in her tiara ; she lives in a grotto in the Kurukullā mountain ; she beams with the emotion of love in all the freshness of youth ; it is thus that one must imagine Kurukullā.

She is usually represented in dancing attitude, sometimes on the demon Rahu, but she may be seated. If standing, the right leg is raised and she stands on the left, which is also bent. She either wears a crown of skulls or a band surmounted by five ornaments, the centre one of which is a wheel surmounted by a skull. A small image of Amitābha may be in her head-dress. Her expression is ferocious, and she has the third eye. She wears a long garland of heads and a scarf, the stiff folds of which rise above her shoulders at the back of her head. Her breast and hips are covered with

¹ *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 78.

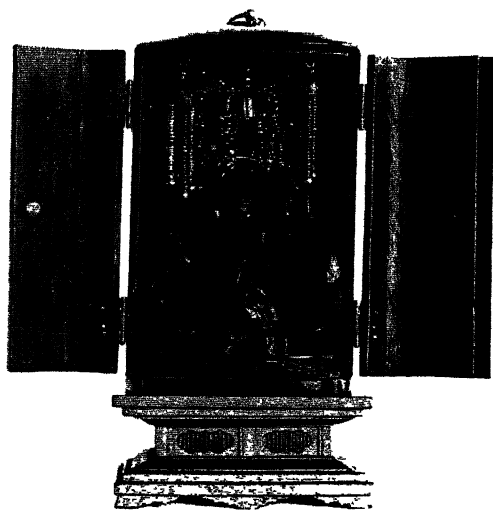
PLATE XXXIX



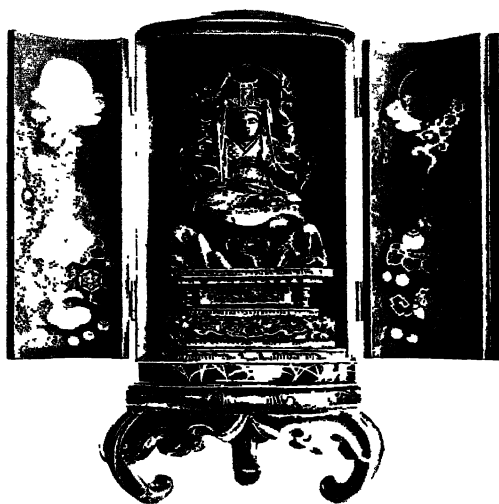
a. KONGŌSATA



b. MĀRĪCĪ



c. BUDDHA, ASCETIC



d. JUNTEI KWAN-NON

ornaments. With her normal arms she draws the bow and arrow. With the other two hands she may make the *abhaya mudrā* and hold a *vajra* or lasso. Her colour is red, her hair is yellow (Pl. XLIII, figs. *a* and *b*).

She is the goddess of Wealth and follows in the suite of the god of Wealth, Kuvera, but is not his consort or *śakti*.

There are other still more ferocious manifestations of Kurukullā, with six and eight arms, represented dancing on corpses.

Kurukullā is to be found in a *maṇḍala* with twelve female divinities. According to the *sādhana*¹ she is figured seated with legs locked, and has eight arms. With the normal arms she makes the *vajra-hum-kara mudrā*, while the others carry a bow and arrow, a lasso, an *utpala*, &c. She is peaceful in appearance, and is seated in the centre of an eight-petalled lotus, on each petal of which is a female divinity. At each of the four Gates of the Four Quarters, with the corresponding Dhyāni-Buddha in her tiara, is a Tantric female divinity of frightful appearance.

SARASVATĪ

(Goddess of Music and Poetry).

(T.) *dbyaṅs-can-ma* (having a melodious voice),
or *ṅag-gi-lha-mo* (goddess of speech).

(M.) *kele-yin ūkin tegri* (goddess of speech).

C.) *Ta-pien-ts'ai-i'en nü* (大辯才天女)
(goddess of great eloquence), or *Miao-yin-fo-mu* (妙音佛母).

(J.) *Ben-zai-ten* (or *Benten*).

Symbol: *vīṇā* (lute).

Colour: white.

Vāhana: peacock.

Śakti of Mañjuśrī.

Sarasvatī, the consort of both Brahmā and Mañjuśrī, is the deification of the ancient river by that name, and was worshipped by the Aryans as Goddess of Learning. According to the *sādhana*s dedicated to her, she is believed to confer wisdom and learning on all those who worship her. As goddess of music and poetry, she is revered alike by Brahmans and Buddhists, and her cult has penetrated as far as China and Japan.

In India and Tibet she is generally represented seated, holding with her two hands the *vīṇā*, or Indian lute; but in Tibet she may hold a thunderbolt, in which case she is called Vajra-sarasvatī. If painted, her colour is white and her mount a peacock.²

The Āryajāṅgulī, a form of the white Tārā, also holds a lute in two of her four hands, but the special attribute of this goddess is a white snake. In Japan the white snake is believed to be a manifestation of Sarasvatī, from which we must infer that the Japanese have confounded the two goddesses, Sarasvatī and Jāṅgulī.

The Buddhist form of Sarasvatī may have one face and two arms, in which case her right hand is usually in *varada mudrā*, while her left holds a white lotus. 'She illumines the three worlds with the immeasurable light that radiates from her body.'

¹ v. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 58.

² v. Pl. XLII.

According to the *sādhana*,¹ she has a Tantra form in Tibet which is red, with three faces, six arms, a warlike pose, and Tantra attributes.

In Japan the goddess Benten is looked upon as a manifestation of Sarasvatī. Her full name is *Dai-ben-zai-ten*, or 'Great Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty', and she is believed to confer power, happiness, riches, long life, fame, and reasoning powers. She is also one of the Seven Gods of Good Luck—the only feminine divinity of the group.

In regard to the goddess Benten, there is the following ancient Japanese legend: Once upon a time there was a monstrous dragon that devoured all the children who lived in the neighbourhood of the cave where he dwelt. A violent earthquake took place, and the goddess Benten appeared on a cloud. From the waters suddenly emerged the island Enoshima, and the goddess Benten, descending to the island, 'married the dragon,² and put an end to his ravages'. It is probably in reference to this legend that the goddess is generally represented either sitting or standing on a dragon or huge snake. She has only two arms, and holds a *biwa* or Japanese lute.

Hayashi Razan, a sixteenth-century writer, states in his *Jinshakō* (studies on shrines) that Tairo-no-Tokimasa once repaired to the shrines of Enoshima to pray to the goddess for the prosperity of his descendants. She appeared to him in the form of a beautiful woman, prophesied as to the future of his descendants, and then, turning into a huge snake, wriggled away into the sea.

It is probably on account of the belief that Benten is closely connected with snakes and dragons that her shrines are always in caverns, on islands, or near the sea. In one of the temples of Kamakura³ there is the representation of a coiled snake⁴ with a man's head having a scraggy beard, which the common people worship as the goddess Benten. Yanagiwara Motomitsu, a writer of the eighteenth century, states in his *Kansōjigo* that a painting of Benten with three heads and a serpentine body had been handed down in his family for generations, and was believed to have come originally from a temple in Kyōto.

Ise Teijō, another eighteenth-century writer, says, in his *Ansaizuihitzu*, that the form of Benten which has a woman's head and a serpentine body came from Roman Catholicism, where 'Deus was so represented'. He further states that when Catholicism was repressed and the followers were persecuted by the government, at the end of the sixteenth century, they worshipped this form of God, calling it Benten.

But, although there are many legends of Benten connecting her with the snake, there is nothing which explains the meaning of the snake, or whether Benten and the snake are one and the same or only 'mistress and servant'.

¹ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 89.

² It is not impossible that this Japanese legend originated in China, for, according to Yu-kie, who recounted his travels to the Chinese emperor and his court in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., there existed to the north-west, 'about 1,000 li from China, a kingdom of women who took serpents for husbands. These serpents were inoffensive. They remained in holes while the

women, their wives, lived in houses and palaces.' Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denis, *Mémoire sur le pays connu des anciens Chinois sous le nom de Fou-sang*.

³ In the grounds of the Eukaku-ji. The figure, twelve inches high, is believed to have been carved by Kōbō Daishi. It is only shown every sixty-one years. The author had the opportunity of seeing it during the ceremonies called 'Ben-zai-son'.

⁴ v. illustration, Pl. LVIII, fig. b.



MĀRICĪ (?)

The goddess Benten also has, in Japan, a Tantra form with eight arms. Her attributes are : a sword, spear, axe, box, arrow, lasso, thunderbolt, and a ' Wheel of the Law '.

According to Satow, Benten is believed, by certain sects, to be a sister of Viṣṇu, and by others a feminine manifestation of Vairocana; but in her form with the lute she is unquestionably a manifestation of Sarasvatī.

CUNDĀ (or Cuntī)¹

(T.) *tsunda*.

Symbols : *kalāṣa* (vase).

(C.) *Chun-t'i* (準提).

mālā (rosary).

pustaka (book).

Mudrā : *dhyāna* (meditation).

Colour : red (or white).

The goddess Cundā is an emanation of Vajrasattva, and is the only female deity who may have his image in the head-dress. She plays an important part in the mystic doctrine, especially in China and Japan, and is sometimes called the ' Mother of Buddha '. According to a *dhāraṇī* translated by Beal,² she is to be imagined as having ' a lambent flame of fire ' proceeding from the body and resting above the top of the head like a bright gem or as the full moon ; while another *dhāraṇī* describes her as ' radiant as the autumn moon '.

The goddess Cundā has two representations—one with four arms and another with sixteen. She may even have eighteen, for there is a statue of Cundā in the courtyard of the house of the Mahant of Bodh-Gayā with eighteen arms.³

According to the *sādhana*, the form with four arms is red, and the upper hands hold the rosary and book, while the lower are in ' meditation ' *mudrā* and hold the vase. She has a sweet expression.

Cundā with sixteen arms is warlike in appearance, but besides the sword, hatchet, bow, arrow, and thunderbolt, she carries a rosary, lotus, vase, &c., and one of her hands may be in ' charity ' *mudrā*, while the original pair of hands are in ' teaching ' *mudrā*.

Cundā is not unknown in Java. On the outside panels of the temple of Tyandi Mēndut there are two representations, one with eight arms and the other with four, of which the upper hold the rosary and book while the original arms are in *dhyāna mudrā*, holding a vase. The former is standing and the latter is sitting with the legs locked, but both forms are between the Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

In Japan, the goddess Cundā is rarely met with in statuary form, but in paintings, specially in mystic diagrams, she is most popular. In the Garbha-kośa *maṇḍala*, she is found in the second enclosure called the *Sarvagña parśad*, where she is figured with eight (or eighteen) arms. The originals : right, *abhaya mudrā* ; left, holding lotus.

¹ Or Chandā (Waddell), or Tchundi (Beal).

² *Catena*, p. 412.

³ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie i, figs. 24 and 25.

Arms underneath : both in *vitarka mudrā*, at the breast. The other hands may carry a sword, book, rosary, trident, and balance a five-pointed *vajra* on the index. She is looked upon as the 'Mother of the Lotus enclosure', i.e. of the fourth *parśad*, in which there are twenty-one forms of Kwan-non.

VASUDHĀRĀ (or Vasundharā)

(Goddess of Abundance).

Mudrā : charity.

Colour : yellow.

Symbols : *kalāśa* (vase).

Consort of Kuvera Jambala.

spike of grain.

Vasudhārā, goddess of Abundance, is the consort of Kuvera, god of Wealth, in his form of Jambala. She is always represented with one head, but may have from two to six arms, and wears all the Bodhisattva ornaments. When she has but two arms, the left hand holds a spike of grain, while the right holds a vase, out of which pour a quantity of jewels.

Vasudhārā, represented with six arms, holds in the lower left hand her characteristic symbol, the vase : the hand above holds another distinguishing attribute, the spike of grain. The third hand holds a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The lower right hand, lying on the knee, is in 'charity' *mudrā*, and may hold a lotus-bud ; the one above holds a jewel, while the upper hand makes a *mudrā* of salutation. The right leg is usually pendant, and the foot is unsupported or rests upon a vase which is supported by a lotus *āsana*, like her consort Kuvera.¹ In the Nepalese miniatures, however, she is sometimes white instead of yellow, and holds the bow and arrow, a spike of grain, and three peacock feathers.

She may have a small image of Ratnasambhava in her head-dress, and be accompanied by four minor goddesses or eight Yakshiṇī. According to Waddell, Vasudhārā is a form of the Indian goddess Hārītī.²

PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ³

(Goddess of Transcendent Wisdom).

(T.) *ś'es-rab-pha-rol-tu* (lit. 'she who has arrived on the other side of superior wisdom').

Mudrā : *dharmacakra* (turning the Wheel of the Law).

(M.) *bīlig-un ěinadu kiĵaghar-a kūrūksen* (being possessed of more than superior wisdom).

Symbols : *pustaka* (book).

mālā (rosary).

(J.) *Hannya* (般若).

Colour : yellow.

As early as the fifth century, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* was worshipped in India with offerings of flowers and perfumes, for the *sūtra* was believed to have been given

¹ Pl. LXI, fig. b.

² v. *Hārītī*.

³ *Prajñā* (wisdom), *pāra* (farther side), *mitā*

(arrived at). The *Prajñāpāramitā* is the name of one of the divisions of the sacred books, the *Kanjur*.

by the Buddha himself to the *nāgas* to guard until mankind should be sufficiently enlightened to understand its Transcendent Wisdom. It is said to have been restored to mankind by Nāgārjuna, in the second century B.C.

The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is a deification of the *sūtra* which she always carries. She is, as it were, an incarnation of the Divine Word. According to the esoteric doctrine, she is looked upon as Productive Energy ; but in the exoteric doctrine, she is called the 'Mother of all the Buddhas'.

In Nepal, she was worshipped by all those who desired to know the True Doctrine. In Japan, Java, and Indo-China she was extremely popular ; but in China she was practically unknown.

Prajñāpāramitā is usually represented white in colour, with one head and two arms, which are in *dharmacakra mudrā*. The right may hold a white lotus, and the left the stem of a blue lotus, which supports the *sūtra* on a level with her ear. She may, however, hold the book in her hand, in which case the right hand holds the blue lotus. If the esoteric form is represented, the white lotus is figured coming out of the right hand. These same forms may be yellow in colour, in which case she is called Pita-prajñāpāramitā.¹

Prajñāpāramitā is represented in Tibet with all the Bodhisattva ornaments, and may have two or four arms. If there are but two arms, the book is supported by a blue lotus at her left shoulder, and the hands are in 'teaching' *mudrā*.²

If she has four arms, the upper hands carry the book and rosary, or the upper left hand may hold the stem of a blue lotus which supports the book, and the upper right make the *abhaya mudrā*, while the lower hands in both cases are in *dharmacakra mudrā*.

An image of Akshobhya may be in her head-dress, and there is usually the *ūrṇā* on her forehead.

By certain sects she was looked upon as the *śakti* of Vajradhara.

Prajñāpāramitā was most popular in Cambodia, where many bronze statuettes have been found, having two distinct forms: one normal, with one head and two arms ; and the other Tantric, with eleven heads and twenty-two arms. In both cases, she is figured bare to the waist, her *sarong* falling to the ankles, held by an ornate belt. She has many jewels and always wears a crown, behind which the hair is drawn into a chignon encased in a *mukṭa*.³ Besides her usual crown, she may have three other crowns superposed on her *mukṭa*, in which case the image of Amitābha is in the flaring crown above her forehead.⁴ In her right hand is the sacred book, the Prajñāpāramitā *sūtra*, and in her left a lotus-bud.

In her Tantric form,⁵ her eleven heads may be arranged in a group of six, with four above her normal head ; or with one on each side of the normal head and four heads above it, which are surmounted again by four heads, while above them all is an image of Amitābha.

¹ v. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 86.

² See illustration, Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Pl. xiv.

³ v. Glossary, and Pl. xxv, fig. 6.

⁴ Coedès, *Bronzes khmers*, Pl. xxxiv, fig. 1.

⁵ Ibid., Pl. xxxv.

The eleven pairs of arms are arranged one above the other and radiating from the normal arms hanging at the sides, which hold the book and lotus-bud. If she is figured seated with the legs locked, her legs are bare; but if standing, she wears the *sarong*.

Prajñāpāramitā is often found in Cambodia together with Lokeśvara, in fact so often that she might be looked upon as his female counterpart or manifestation, if not his consort. Unfortunately, no inscriptions have as yet been found which explain their presence together figured on monoliths or in temples.

Prajñāpāramitā is also met with in a triad with the Buddha and Lokeśvara, in which case she may have from one to five heads and from four to ten arms, carrying a lotus, book, bow and arrow, rosary, while several of her hands may be in various *mudrās*.

In Japan, Prajñāpāramitā is little known outside of her esoteric aspect, and is found more often in mystic *maṇḍalas* than in statuary form. In the Garbha-kośa *maṇḍala*, she presides over the third enclosure called *Teijo dhara parśad* (light-bearing assembly). She is figured seated, with six arms. The right normal arm is in *vitarka mudrā*, while the left holds the *sūtra*. At her right are Trailokyavijaya and Yamāntaka, while at her left are two forms of Acala.

MARĪCĪ (rank of Bodhisattva)

(lit. Ray of Light)

(Goddess of the Dawn).

(T.) *hod-zer-can-ma* (she of the brilliant rays).

(J.) *Marishi-ten* (摩利支天).

Symbols: *aśoka* (branch).

vajra (thunderbolt).

Mantra: Om Mārīcī svāha.

Colours: yellow or red.

Vāhana: seven pigs.

Consort of Hayagrīva.

Different names: Vajravārāhī and

Aśokakāntā.

The goddess Mārīcī is called in China 'Queen of the Heavens' and 'Mother of the Dipper'. In Tibet her title is 'Goddess of the Dawn', and, according to M. Foucher, Mārīcī is invoked by the lamas every morning at sunrise. Among the common people she is not so popular as Tārā, but there are several shrines dedicated to her in Tibet, and in her Vajravārāhī form she is believed to be incarnate in every successive abbess of the monastery of Semding.

Vajravārāhī means the 'Adamantine sow', and there is a legend¹ to the effect that one of these abbesses had an excrescence behind her ear which resembled a sow's head. A Mongol warrior, Dzun-gar, when attacking the monastery, called out insulting challenges for the abbess to come forth and show her sow's head. When the walls were destroyed and the army invaded the place, they found it inhabited by sows and pigs, led by a sow bigger than the rest. Dzun-gar was so amazed at the sight that he stopped the pillage, at which the sows and pigs became transformed into

¹ v. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 295.

monks and nuns, and the largest sow into the abbess herself. Dzun-gar became converted at the miracle, and enriched the monastery.

This legend does not, however, explain the origin of the name 'Vajravārāhī', which is more ancient than Mārīcī, nor why, when the goddess is represented with three heads, the one at the left is that of a boar; nor the reason for her chariot being drawn by seven pigs.

In Japan Mārīcī is believed to reside in one of the seven stars forming the constellation of the Great Bear. In India the Āryans may also have identified her with that constellation which they called *ṛikṣha*, Sanskrit word for either 'bear' or 'star'. If that was the case, it is not impossible that the first representations of Mārīcī were made with a bear-support (instead of a boar). As the bear was little known in India, the artists may have represented an animal which somewhat resembled a wild boar. The Great Bear itself is not true to nature, having a long tail. In the statues of Mārīcī from the Magadha, especially the one in the Calcutta Museum, the head, which according to tradition should resemble a sow, resembles no animal in particular. If we accept the hypothesis that the original animal associated with Mārīcī was a bear, the representations of which, with time, changed into a boar and sow, the seven pigs that draw her chariot might represent the seven stars of the constellation of the Great Bear.

Mārīcī is evidently the goddess Aurora of the Āryans, for the *sādhana* refer to her as riding in her chariot surrounded by a glory of flame-shaped rays. Her seven pigs were possibly inspired from the seven horses that draw the chariot of Sūrya, the Sun God.

When Mārīcī accompanies the green Tārā she is always at her right and is called Aśokakāntā. She is seated on a lotus-throne, which may be supported by a pig, yellow in colour, and her legs are either locked or with the right leg pendant. She has the third eye. In her left hand she carries a branch of the *aśoka*-tree, and her right is generally in 'charity' *mudrā*, but may be in 'argument' *mudrā* or holding the *vajra* or fly whisk. She may, however, be seated on the pig, with the right hand in *vara* and the left in *vitarka mudrā* (Pl. xli, fig. a).

She has a yellow form, with three heads and eight or sixteen arms. The face at the right is red and the one at the left, a boar's head, is blue; on each face is the third eye. Her attributes are: the thunderbolt, hook, arrow, needle, branch of *aśoka*, bow, thread, and a hand in *mudrā* with the index raised. Vairocana is in her head-dress. She steps to the right on a chariot drawn by seven pigs, or may be seated on a lotus supported by seven pigs. According to the *sādhana*, she is surrounded by the four goddesses: Vattalī (red), Vadālī (yellow), Varālī (white), Varāhamukhī (red). It is this form that is called 'Vajravārāhī', and is represented more often in sculpture than in paintings.

A red form of Mārīcī has three heads and ten arms, and is her most hideous representation. She is corpulent, and brandishes in her ten arms only warlike attributes. In her dishevelled hair is a horse's head, and as she is the consort of Hayagrīva it is probably in this form that she is considered his *śakti*.

According to the *sādhana*,¹ there is a white Mārīcī with ten arms and four legs, treading on Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as well as a red Mārīcī with six heads and twelve arms. In this latter form the first head is red; the second, blue; the third, green; the fourth, yellow; the fifth—on top of the heads—white; and, above this, the sixth, which is a sow's head. She carries practically the same attributes as the other forms, and has for covering a tiger-skin and wears a long garland of skulls. She is seated on a sow, and is most hideous and terrifying.

The Vajravarāhī form of Mārīcī may be a *ḍākinī* with a sow's head and woman's body, nude, and stepping to the left on a prostrate body. She has a skull crown, the third eye, and wears a long garland of heads and many ornaments. In her left hand is a skull cup, and in her right a chopper. She is usually accompanied by two acolytes.

In Japan Mārīcī is generally represented seated on a lotus-throne supported by seven pigs (Pl. xxxix, fig. b). She has three heads, of which the one at the right is a sow's head (while in India it is always placed at the left) and has usually six arms, the original ones holding the thread and needle. Behind her head, instead of a nimbus, is sometimes the eight-spoked Buddhist wheel.

There is a curious Japanese example of Mārīcī (Pl. xl) holding a *caitya*. Behind her head are three faces, of which one is a sow's head.

PARNAŚAVARĪ

(wearing a girdle of leaves).

(T.) *Lo-ma-gyon-ma* (dressed with leaves).

Colour: yellow or flesh colour.

(J.) *Hiyōi* (putting on leaf covering) (被葉衣). Symbols: pomegranate.

Distinctive mark: apron of leaves.

lasso.

Parnaśavarī is a follower of Tārā, and is specially interesting on account of the apron of leaves that she wears, which, according to Mr. Grünwedel, shows that she was worshipped by the aboriginal tribes of India. One of her names is 'Sarvasavarāṇām bhagāvatī', or goddess of all the Savaras (Savar or Saora),² and there is still a tribe in Eastern India known by that name.

She is represented turning to the left, but kneeling on her right knee. She is yellow, and has three heads—white, yellow, and red, and although her expression is irritated, she is smiling. In her six hands she holds a thunderbolt, hatchet, arrow, bow, lasso, and a branch of flowers.³

Parnaśavarī belongs to a group of thirty-three Kwan-non in Japan and is called the *Hiyōi* Kwan-non because she is represented with a covering of leaves. According to the *Himitsu Jirin*,⁴ her esoteric name is Jgyō-kongō.

¹ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 96.

² Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, p. 80, No. 165.

³ *Savar* means a 'mountaineer' or 'savage'.

⁴ v. p. 911.



a. MĀRĪCĪ



b USHNĪSHAVIJAYĀ



c. USHNĪSHAVIJAYĀ



d. HĀRITĪ

In Japan she has two forms: one, with two arms, holding a lasso and a staff supporting a pomegranate¹; or with four arms, in which case her original right hand holds a pomegranate at her breast and an axe in the left. The other two arms are in *vara mudrā*, and the left holds a lasso.

USHŪISHAVIJAYĀ

(lit. Victorious Goddess of the UshŪisha).

(T.) *gtsug-tor-rnam-par rgyal-ma* (victorious mother with a complete *ushŪisha*).

(M.) *rasian usnir-tu* (she who has a nectar (anointed²) head-dress).

(C.) *Fo-ting*.

(J.) *Butchō* (Buddha's *ushŪisha*) (佛頂).

Mudrā: *dharmacakra* (turning the Wheel of the Law), or *vara* (charity).

Symbols: *viśva-vajra* (double thunderbolt).
ambrosia cup.

small image of Buddha.

Colour: white.

UshŪishavijayā, 'having the intelligence of the most splendid Perfect One', is a very popular goddess in Tibet as well as in Mongolia, and is one of the earliest feminine divinities.

She is always represented seated, her legs closely locked, and with the soles of both feet apparent. She has three heads, of which the one at the right is yellow, the central head is white, and the face to the left is black. They are all, as a rule, sweet in expression, and have the third eye. She has eight arms. The two normal ones either hold a double thunderbolt at her breast or are in *dharmacakra mudrā*. The ones underneath are either in 'meditation' *mudrā*, holding an ambrosia vase, or the right is in 'charity' *mudrā*, while the left holds the vase. Of the two upper arms, the hand at the right holds a small figure of Buddha, which may be supported by a lotus-flower, while the left is in *abhaya mudrā*. The other symbols vary, but may be the bow and arrow, lasso, *vajra*, or one of the hands in *abhaya mudrā*, or with the index raised (Pl. xli, figs. b and c).

Her hair is drawn up in a high chignon (*ushŪisha*) behind the crown, in which may be a small image of Vairocana. UshŪishavijayā is sometimes accompanied by Avalokiteśvara at her right and Vajrapāṇi at her left.

In the bronze statues the vase she carries somewhat resembles the ambrosia vase of Amitāyus. There are the four ornaments falling from under the cover of the vase, and from the cover itself rises an *aśoka* branch. The vase, however, is sometimes perfectly plain, and, according to a *sādhana* translated by Mr. Grünwedel, may be 'crowned by Vairocana's crown'. M. Foucher, in his translation of another *sādhana*, calls it the 'vase de fortune'.

In Japan she is looked upon as the deification of the Buddha's *ushŪisha*.³ Her form resembles the Tibetan representation of the goddess, but she is little known.

¹ Her form in the Padma assembly of the Garbha-kośa *maṇḍala*, where she is represented white in colour.

² In the MS. Add. 864 in the University Library, Cambridge, there are several representa-

tions of ambrosia being poured over the *ushŪisha* of the gods.

³ It is said that a voice issued from the *ushŪisha* of the Buddha once when he was in a trance. Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, p. 173.

SITĀTAPATRĀ APARĀJITA '

(Invincible goddess of the White Parasol).

(T.) *gdugs-dkar-can-ma* (goddess of the white parasol).Symbol: *ātāpatrā* (parasol).(M.) *čaghan sigürtei* (having a white parasol).

Colour: white.

(J.) *Byakusangai* (白傘蓋).Mudrā: *abhaya*.

Sitātapatrā, the 'Revered One of the White Umbrella', as we have already seen, is one of the titles of Avalokiteśvara,¹ and in his form with '1,000' arms and five rows of heads, he may carry the White Umbrella; but this form is in no way connected with Sitātapatrā Aparājītā, who is a 'spell' goddess, a deification of the White Umbrella which is believed to have the power of protecting from all harm.

In her simplest form, Sitātapatrā has one head and two arms, of which the right is in *abhaya mudrā*, while the left carries the White Umbrella.² She is of white complexion, according to the *sādhana*, and is 'shining'. She may, however, have three heads (blue, white, and red), or four heads with one at the back. With either form she has eight arms, and the two normal hands hold her special symbol, the parasol, under which she is believed to protect all true believers. (With the right she holds a parasol at her breast, with the left another on her knee.) The other hands hold the wheel, bow, arrow, book, and lasso. She may have the third eye, but her expression is sweet.

MAHA MĀYŪRĪ

(The Great Peacock Goddess).

(T.) *rMa-bya-c'en-mo*.Mudrā: *varada*.(C.) *Kun-syo ming-wang*.

Symbols: a peacock feather, vase, jewel,

(J.) *Kujaku Myō-ō* (孔雀明王).

fly whisk, bow and arrow.

Colour: green or yellow.

Vahana: golden peacock.

Mahā Māyūrī, 'Queen of Magic Art' (*vidya rājñī*), is worshipped in India, Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan. She is a 'spell' deity, i. e., the deification of a magic formula³ called the 'Golden Peacock Charm', used by the faithful against snake-bites. It is believed that the Buddha himself was the author of the charm; and its hidden meaning is said to be that the Golden Peacock (or Sun-bird) is in reality the Buddha, while the goddess Mahā Māyūrī stands for the mother of the Buddha. It is interesting to note that in one of the Jātakas⁴ the Buddha, then a Bodhisattva, was reborn as a Golden Goose or Sun-bird who from time to time gave a golden feather to his former family to enable them to live in ease and comfort. Now the goddess Mahā Māyūrī carries a golden peacock feather in one of her hands; in fact, it is her characteristic symbol and seems to be a link between the 'spell' deity and the Jātaka of the Golden Sun-bird (v. the Cullahamsa Jātaka).

¹ A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie i, p. 110.

wedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 152, fig. 124.

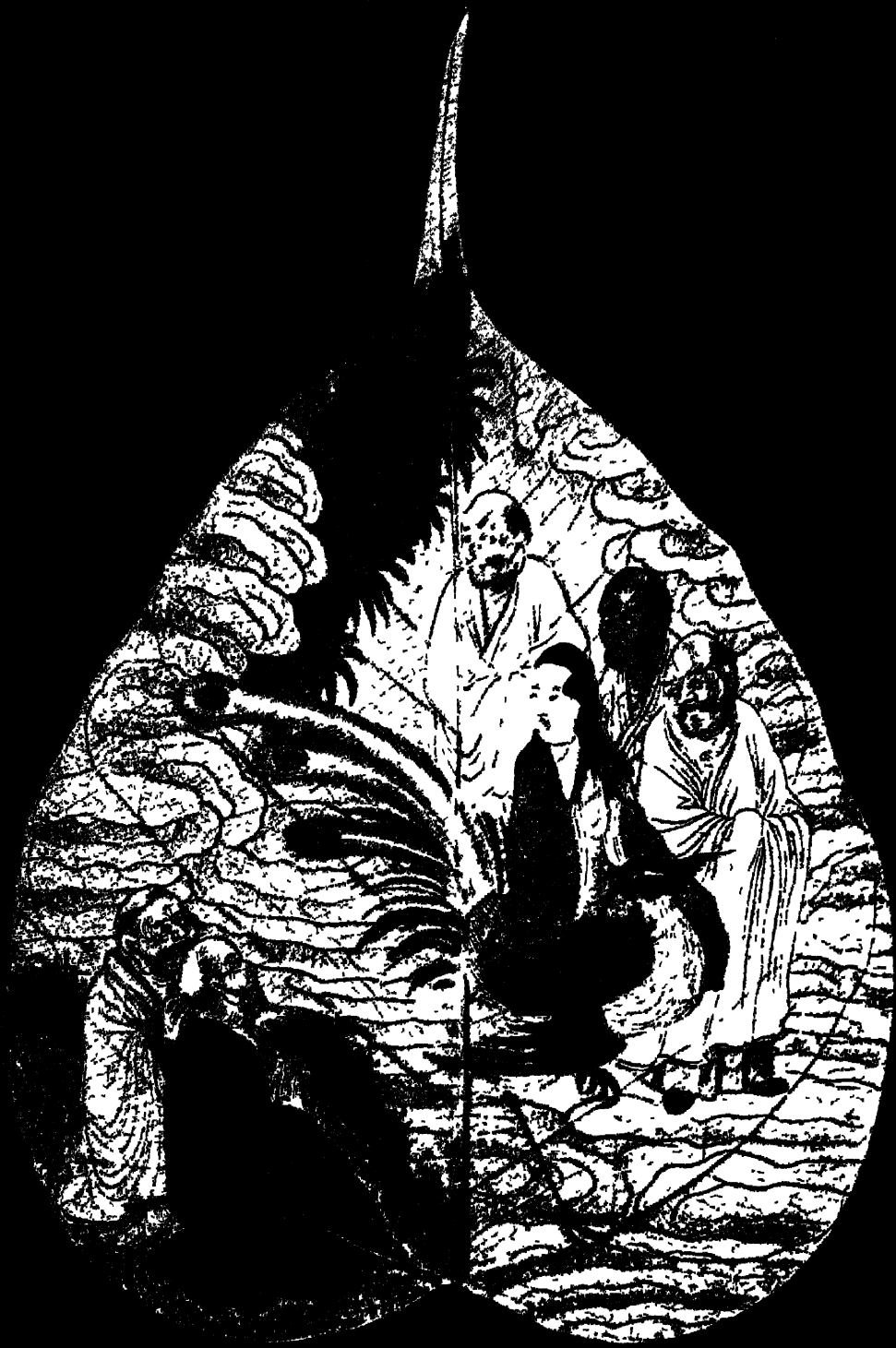
³ Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, p. 177.

² Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, p. 188, fig. 5, and Grün-

⁴ Francis, *The Jātakas*, p. 117.

PLATE XLII

SARASVATI



Mahā Māyūrī is looked upon as a reflex of Amoghasiddhi, and may have his image in her crown, in which case she is represented green in colour and with three heads. The head to the right is blue, to the left white, and each has the third eye. She has six arms: the normal right is in *varada mudrā*; the left holds a vase. The other hands carry a bow and arrow, a peacock feather, and a jewel. The goddess sits in the attitude of 'royal ease'. If she has no image in her crown and is figured alone, that is, not accompanying a superior deity, she is represented yellow in colour, with one head and two arms. In her right hand she holds a peacock feather, while her left is in *varada mudrā*.

When Mahā Māyūrī is in a triad with Sitatārā and Mārīcī, she is at the left and is called the 'Bestower'. Her colour is green 'like the *priyāṅga* fruit', and she has one head and two arms, carrying a peacock feather and a fly whisk. Jaṅgulī and Ekajāṭā may be added to the group, in which case Mahā Māyūrī is at the right.

In her aspect of 'Queen of Magic Art', Mahā Māyūrī has three faces and six or eight arms.¹ The normal right hand is in *varada mudrā*, while the left carries the white umbrella. The other arms carry a sword, wheel, vase, peacock feather, and the image of a Buddha standing in a *pātra*. She is seated on a lotus throne with the legs locked.

In Nepal, Mahā Māyūrī is looked upon as chief of the Five Protectors (Pañca Rakṣās), and in this form she always carries the white umbrella to ward off all harm.²

Mahā Māyūrī is often met with in Japan, both in temple banners and in statuary form. The goddess is called Kujaku Myō-ō, and is almost always figured seated on a peacock, which, according to the *sādhana*, should be of golden colour and with a coral beak and two eyes 'like *gunja* fruit'; while down the middle of his back and round his neck should be three red streaks. The tail of the peacock is almost always spread, thus making a golden halo around the goddess.

According to the *Butsuzō Zue*,³ Kujaku Myō-ō, when figured with one head and four arms and seated on a peacock, symbolizes the Buddha's mother (Buddha Mātṛika Mahā Māyūrī). The normal right arm holds the stem of a lotus-flower, while the left, at the breast, balances a full-blown lotus in the palm. The right arm underneath carries a lotus-bud, and the left is in *abhaya mudrā*. If this form has six arms, the normals may be in *namaḥkāra mudrā*, while one of the other arms holds a peacock feather, which is the distinguishing mark of Mahā Māyūrī, especially if she is not seated on a peacock. In the other hands she may carry a bow and arrow, a jewel, and often in Japan a pomegranate.

In the *Dai Butsu Jiten*, the form of Kujaku with one head and four arms is called a Myō-ō, but not of the class termed *fun-nu* or 'angry', and she is thus not always included in the group of Myō-ō (v. Glossary). She is believed to dwell in the Tushita heaven, in the centre of an eight-petalled lotus. Seated on a golden peacock with the legs locked, she turns her head to the east, and is white in colour, dressed in white and

¹ Pander's *Pantheon*, p. 82, fig. 178.

³ v. vol. ii, and Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, p. 183, fig. 4.

² Waddell, *Dhāraṇī Cult*, p. 181, and Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 99.

wearing many jewels. Her lotus throne is white or blue, but when she is represented in the *Tai-zo kai maṇḍala*, it is red. She has four arms, of which the two at the right hold a full-blown lotus-flower and a fruit called *bijapurāka*; the two at the left carry at the breast a pomegranate, and the upper arm a peacock feather.

Kujaku is one of the eight deities in the *Tai-zo-kai maṇḍala*, placed in the *Su-siddhi parśad* (enclosure of the 'well-perfected'), and is often included in the group of Myō-ō of the 'mild' class.

In China, Mahā Māyūrī (*Kun-syo ming wang*) may be found seated on a peacock, but sideways, with one foot on the ground. She has three crowned heads, which are surmounted by the head of a Buddha. She has six arms. The normal arms hold: right, a wheel on the lap; left, a book at the breast. The other pair: the right may be in *añjali mudrā*, and the left carrying a *vajra*. The lower pair: right, a *mudrā*; left, holding a staff.

NA-ROMK'ĤA-SPYOD-MA (*dākinī*)

(Na-ro residing in the heavens).

(S.) *Sarva buddhaḍākinī*.

Symbols: *kapāla* (skull cup).

grigug (chopper).

khaṭvāṅga (magic stick).

Colour: red.

The *dākinī* Na-romk'ha-spyod-ma is patroness of the Saskya sect and an acolyte of the *dākinī* Vajra-varāhī.¹

She is represented stepping to the left on two personages and drinking blood from the skull cup in her left hand, while the right holds the chopper. She has the third eye, and wears a crown of skulls, a long garland of heads, and many ornaments. She balances the magic stick, the *khaṭvāṅga*, on her left arm. If painted, she is red, and the two personages under her feet are red and blue (Pl. LV).

THE PAÑCA RAKṢĀ

The Pañca Rakṣā, called in Tibet the 'Five Protectors', and in Nepal the 'Five Umbrellas', are five 'spell' deities of whom the chief, according to the Nepalese Buddhists, is Mahā Māyūrī; but following the *sādhana* translated by Foucher,² the Rakṣā are presided over by Mahā-sāhasrapramardanī. She is the deification of a spell believed to have been delivered by the Buddha to ward off earthquakes and storms. She is to be imagined as enthroned in the centre, surrounded by the four other Rakṣā, and is white in colour, with one head and six arms. She carries a sword, lasso, bow and arrow. The normal right hand is in *varada mudrā*, while the left holds an axe. Vairocana is in her crown.

¹ v. Glossary.

² *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 99.



a. KURUKULLĀ



b. KURUKULLĀ



c. DĀKINĪ

To the east is the goddess Mahā-mantrānusāriṇī,¹ who has an image of Akshobhya in her crown, and is blue in colour. She is the deification of the spell delivered by the Buddha to Ananda to avert all disease from the town of Vaisālī. The Rakṣā is to be imagined as having three heads (red, blue, and white) and twelve arms, of which the normals are in *dharmacakra mudrā*.

To the south is the goddess Mahā-pratisarā, who is the concrete form of the spell delivered by the Buddha which protects from all sorts of specified evils and physical dangers. She is to be conceived as having the image of Ratnasambhava in her crown. Her colour is yellow, and she may have from three to four faces and from eight to ten arms. One of her symbols is the umbrella.

To the west is Mahā-sītavatī, who has an image of Amitābha in her crown. She is the deification of the spell delivered by the Buddha to his son Rāhula to protect him from ferocious animals and evil plants. Her colour is red, and she is to be imagined with one head and four arms, with one of which she holds a book at her breast.

To the north is the goddess Mahā Māyūrī, who, as we have seen above, deifies the spell against snake-bites. She has the image of Amoghasiddhi in her crown. Her colour is green, and she has three faces and eight arms, of which one holds a peacock feather.

THE PAÑCA DHYĀNI-BUDDHA ŚAKTI

On the wall of the Vihār of Yama Gutī in Cathmandu are, according to Hodgson, high reliefs of the five *śakti* of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. (See illustration, *Sketch of Buddhism*, Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii, Pl. III.)

All of the five *śakti* are dressed as Bodhisattva with the five-leaved crown, and have the lower limbs in the same position, called by Hodgson the 'Lalitāsana', but the more common term is 'royal ease' (v. *āsana*). They all hold the right hand in *vara mudrā*, and the left in *vitarka* pose, except:

1. *Vajradhātviśvarī*, whose hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*, like her Dhyāni-Buddha Vairocana. A lotus-flower at each shoulder supports a flaming pearl, in which is the *yin-yang*. Her symbol may also be the triangle (v. *triṇṇā*).

2. *Locanā*, *śakti* of Akshobhya. Her hands, in *vara* and *vitarka mudrā*, hold the stalks of lotus-flowers, each of which supports a *vajra* standing on end.

3. *Māmakī*, *śakti* of Ratnasambhava, has the same attitude and *mudrā* as above. Both of the lotus-flowers support three peacock feathers.

4. *Pāṇḍarā*, *śakti* of Amitābha. The lotus-flowers are closed (the *utpala*) and do not support a symbol (v. *Green Tārā*).

5. *Tārā*, *śakti* of Amoghasiddhi; the lotus-flowers support double *vajras*.

¹ Waddell gives *mantrānūdhārāṇi*, *Dhārāṇi Cult*, p. 172.

SIMHAVAKTRĀ (*dākinī*)

The lion-headed *dākinī* Simhavaktrā is in the suite of Lhamo, whom she follows, carrying a chopper and skull cup.

When she is represented alone she dances on a personage, and holds, besides the above symbols, a *khaṭvāṅga*. She has a lion's head, her hair is erect, and she wears a crown of skulls. If painted, she is blue with a white head. She may be accompanied by the lion-headed witch Vyāghravaktrā and the bear-headed witch Rikshavaktrā.

VAJRA-ḌĀKINĪ.

She dances with one foot on a man lying on his back. In her right hand is a *vajra*, and a skull cup in her left. Under the arm is a *khaṭvāṅga*. She has a third eye, her hair is erect, and she wears many ornaments. The personage under her feet may be missing (Pl. XLIII, fig. c).

THE YI-DAM (TUTELARY GODS)¹

TABLE XII

The Yi-dam.	I. Derived from Dhyāni-Buddhas.	{ <div> I. Vajra at his feet II. With śakti, holds bell and </div>	{ <div> <i>cakra.</i> <i>vajra.</i> <i>cintāmaṇi.</i> <i>pātra.</i> <i>viśva-vajra.</i> </div>	{ <div> I. Vajrasattva. II. Vairocana. III. Akshobhya. IV. Ratnasambhava. V. Amitābha. VI. Amoghasiddhi. </div>
	II. Derived from the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.			VII. Mañjuvajra. ²
	III. Derived from Dharmapāla.	{ <div> Vajrapāṇi. Mañjuśrī. Kuvera. </div>		{ <div> VIII. Mahācakra.³ IX. Yamāntaka. X. Jambala.⁴ </div>
IV. Forms purely Yi-dam.	{ <div> I. Seven heads, sixteen arms, four legs. II. Less than seven heads. </div>	{ <div> I. Three heads, six arms II. Four heads. </div>	{ <div> I. Four arms. II. Twelve arms. </div>	{ <div> XI. Hevajra. XII. Sang-dui. XIII. Mahāmāyā. XIV. Saṃvara. XV. Kālacakra. </div>

¹ Table of J. Deniker.

² v. *Mañjuśrī*.

³ v. *Vajrapāṇi*.

⁴ v. *Kuvera*.

THE YI-DAM (GOD-PROTECTORS)

(S.) *ishta devata*.

EVERY lama puts himself under the protection of a special Yi-dam. He prepares himself for the event by solitude, meditation, and asceticism, after which, if the divinity accepts the guardianship, he will reveal himself when the lama is in a proper meditative state. The Yi-dam may be chosen for a lifetime, or for a given enterprise. A lama may even choose several at a time, but his choice must be kept secret to be efficacious.

It is possible for a layman to be put under the protection of a Yi-dam through the intercession of a lama; but he cannot appeal directly to his tutelary god, he can only do so through a lama. Tārā is the only divinity of first rank to whom a layman may appeal directly.

The Yi-dam are almost invariably represented with their *śakti*. In fact, the *yab-yum* attitude is the Yi-dam form of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. It is considered that a tutelary god is more efficacious if worshipped in company with his consort.

The god-protectors have the rank of Buddha and are divided into two classes: the 'mild' and the 'angry' types.

The 'mild' Yi-dam are 'crowned' Buddhas represented with the thirteen ornaments of the Bodhisattva. They hold the usual symbols: wheel, rosary, lotus, jewel, &c.

The 'angry' Yi-dam are less fierce in aspect than the Dharmapāla. They wear the crown of skulls, but the skulls are smaller and are ornamented by Bodhisattva ornaments. The hair is drawn up in a high *ushnīṣha*, and they wear many ornaments besides the long garland of heads. Their symbols are Tantra: skull cup, *vajra*, chopper, &c., and, if painted, their colour is blue.

HEVAJRA (Yi-dam)

(T.) *kye-ba-rdo-rje* (oh, eternal thunderbolt!).

Symbol: *kapāla*.

(M.) *kevajra*.

Colour: blue.

The tutelary god Hevajra is described, with all the rites and ceremonies used in his worship, in the *sūtra* of the *Hevajra tantra*, which figured historically in the conversion of the Mongolian emperor Khubilai in the thirteenth century A.D.¹

Hevajra is represented with eight heads, sixteen arms, and four legs. There are three heads on either side of the central head, which is larger than the rest, and all have the third eye. Above the central head is another head. The heads, however, may be disposed in two tiers of three, with a head on top. In this form there are only seven heads.

¹ v. *Mahākāla*.

All of the sixteen hands hold skull cups. In those at the right are figures of animals : an elephant, a horse, a mule, a bull, a camel, a man, a deer, and a cat. In the skull cups held by the left hands are personages whom, according to Grünwedel, are :

1. God of the water—Varuṇa : yellow.
2. God of air—Vāyu : green.
3. God of fire—Agni : red.
4. God of the moon—Candra : white.
5. God of the sun—Sūrya : red.
6. God of death—Yama : blue.
7. Goddess of riches—Vasudhārā : yellow.
8. A terrestrial god— (?) : yellow.

The colour of Hevajra is blue, and the three heads at the right of the central head (which is blue) are red, blue, and white. The three heads at the left are yellow, brown, and blue. The eighth head, which surmounts them, is a reddish brown.

Two of the legs step to the right on human beings, while the two legs at the back are in dancing position.

He is generally represented in *yab-yum* attitude (Pl. XLIV, figs. *a* and *d*), and the *śakti*, who encircles the body of the *yum* with her legs, holds a *grigug* in her outstretched right arm, while the left is around the neck of the god. Both the *yab* and the *yum* wear many ornaments, and all the heads are crowned, either with the skull or the Bodhisattva crown. Hevajra wears a long garland of heads, as well as the usual Bodhisattva scarf, and from a girdle hang many ornamented ribbons. If painted, he is blue as well as the *śakti*.

In Siam, many statuettes have been found of Hevajra which resemble the Tibetan form with this exception, that there are seldom four legs. The deity is in dancing attitude, crushing personages under his left foot, while the right leg is bent, the sole of the foot touching the left leg above the knee. He is figured with eight heads disposed in groups of three on the shoulders, four above them, and one surmounting them all. He has sixteen arms. From the normal pair radiate all the others, which are in *varada mudrā* or holding figures of animals at the right and human beings at the left.

In the archaeological depot at Angkor, there are three representations of Hevajra. On one of the stelas, he is figured with the usual eight heads and four legs, which, however, are not in dancing attitude. From his normal arms radiate nine pairs of arms, all holding the same symbols but indistinguishable. The right hand is gone, and the left leans on a staff. On the second stela, Hevajra has only five heads : three on the shoulders, one surmounting them, and one under the original head, i. e. in the neck. He has two legs, and stands on a lotus. His normal arms carry a bow and arrow, while from them radiate fourteen pairs of arms holding symbols, which also are indistinguishable. The form nearest to the Tibetan is in a clay relief, where the deity is figured in the usual dancing attitude. He has eight heads arranged in groups of three, four, and one, and from his normal arms radiate seven pairs of arms which are all alike, but it is impossible to make out if they hold symbols or not.

Hevajra seems to have had no cult either in China or Japan.

SANG-DUI (Yi-dam)

(gSañ-'dus)

(S.) Guhya-pati (Master of Secrets).

(T.) *dPal gSang-ba-'dus-pa* (the secret assembly).(C.) *Kuan-tsü-tsai pi-mi-fo* (觀自在秘密佛).¹Symbols : *cakra* (wheel).*cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel).*vajra* (thunderbolt).*ghaṇṭā* (bell).

Sang-dui is the Tantric form of Vajradhara, and is looked upon as Master of Secrets (Guhya-pati). According to Hackin,² he is a Bon form of Vajrapāṇi. Little, however, is known about him, although he is a fairly popular deity in Tibet.

Sang-dui belongs to the mild type of Yi-dam and is dressed like a Bodhisattva, or rather a 'crowned' Buddha, for he has the rank of a Buddha. He is always represented seated, and has three heads. Each head has a five-leaved crown. In the central leaf of the crown, on the middle head, there is generally a wheel, and his high *uṣṇīṣha* is surmounted by a flaming pearl. He has six arms. The original ones are crossed behind the back of the *śakti* and hold the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*. The others hold the wheel, magic jewel, &c. The *śakti* also has three heads, and in the central leaf of the crown, on the middle head, is a small image of Amitābha. She has six arms, and holds the same symbols as the *yab*.

MAHĀMĀYĀ (Yi-dam)

(T.) *ma-hḥa, mḥa-yah, or tsahs-pa* (Brahmā).(C.) *Ta-huan-chin-kang* (大幻金剛).Symbols : *kapāla* (skull cup).*cāpa* (bow).*śara* (arrow).

Colour : blue.

Mahāmāyā is the Yi-dam form of Brahmā and, as a 'mild' Yi-dam, is dressed like a 'crowned' Buddha. He has four heads, on each of which is a Bodhisattva crown, and he does not have the third eye. He has four arms, the two normal ones are crossed at the back of the *śakti* and hold each a *kapāla*. The other hands hold a bow and arrow. There is sometimes a human skin over the shoulders. The *śakti* also holds a bow and arrow. Mahāmāyā is generally seated, but may be standing, in which case he rests on one foot while the other is raised, as if he were dancing. In this case he, however, holds the *śakti* in the same attitude as if he were seated.

Mahāmāyā, according to a *sādhana*, has a ferocious Tantric form in which he is to be imagined with four heads : blue, yellow, white, and green. In his four hands he carries a *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, bow and arrow, and is standing in dancing attitude. He is embraced by his *śakti*, Buddhaḍākinī, who is red in colour and carries the same symbols as Mahāmāyā. He is in the centre of a lotus, while on the petal to the east is seated Vajraḍākinī; to the south, Ratnaḍākinī; to the west, Padmaḍākinī; to the north, Viśvaḍākinī, who are all represented in ferocious aspect.

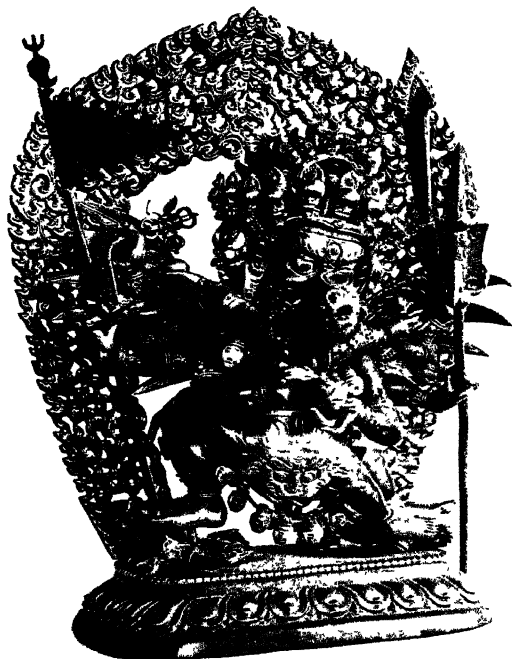
¹ Pander's *Pantheon*, p. 62, fig. 62.² Hackin, *Guide Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, p. 117.³ Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 67.



a. HEVAJRA WITH HIS ŚAKTI



b. HAYAGRĪVA



c. HAYAGRĪVA WITH HIS ŚAKTI



d. HEVAJRA WITH HIS ŚAKTI

SAMVARA (Yi-dam).

(T.) *bde-mc'og* (the best happiness).¹(C.) *San pa-lo* (三跋羅).Mudrā : *vajra-hūm-kāra* (arms crossed on breast).

Special symbol : four-faced head of Brahmā.

Colour : blue (*śakti*, cherry).

Samvara is a mystical deity who, according to the *sādhana* dedicated to him,² originated from a combination of all the letters in the alphabet.

He is believed to be incarnate in the Dalai-lamas of Peking, and his place of pilgrimage, in the province of Tsa-ri, is visited not only by Chinese Buddhists but by pilgrims from Nepal and Tibet.

As Yi-dam he has the rank of Buddha, and is the most complicated manifestation in the group. His four heads, if painted, are : the central one, blue ; the one at the right, white ; the one at the left, green ; the one at the back, red. On each head is a crown of five skulls, above each of which is a flaming pearl, or an ornament like that on the Bodhisattva crowns.

In the central ornament may be the small image of Akshobhya. The high *ushnīsha* is surmounted by a flaming pearl, and is decorated, at the left by a half moon and in front by a double thunderbolt. Each face has a third eye and angry expression.

He is blue in colour and represented with twelve arms. The original ones are crossed in *vajra-hūm-kāra mudrā*, and hold the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* (thunderbolt and bell). The upper arms hold an elephant-skin, which entirely covers his back (Pl. XLVII, figs. c and d). The others hold the head of Brahmā (four-faced), a *khaṭvāṅga* (magic wand), and other Tantra symbols. He wears a long garland of heads, and in the illustration in Pander's *Pantheon* he has a tiger-skin hanging from the waist. He steps to the left on the nude figure of a four-armed woman holding a *khaṭvāṅga*, and on the right treads on a four-armed man with a tiger-skin covering. The group is on a lotus with jagged petals.

Like all the Yi-dam, he is often represented with his *śakti*, Vajravārāhī, whom he clasps to his breast, his arms crossed behind her back. The *śakti* holds a skull cup and a chopper, and, if painted, is cherry colour, and, according to the *sādhana*, has 'nothing but the four quarters as her garment', i. e., is represented nude. She has Vairocana in her crown. There may be a glory of flames³ surrounding the group.

There is an example of Samvara (Pl. XLVI, fig. a) which, as far as the author knows, is unique. He is seated on the mule of Lha-mo with the eye in the haunch, and holds a *śakti*, which is probably Lha-mo herself.

In the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin there is a most curious fresco of Samvara, brought from Turfan by Herr von Le Coq.

¹ Pander gives : (T.) *dPal 'k'or-lo sdompa*.
(C.) *Sang-yoh-wang-fō*.

² Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 65.

³ Illus. 68, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*.

KALACAKRA (Wheel of Time).

(T.) *duś-k'or* (wheel of time).(M.) *ḥagh-un kūrde* (he who turns the wheel of life).Mudrā : *vajra-hūṃ-kāra*.Symbols : *vajra* (thunderbolt).*khaḍga* (sword).

Colour : dark blue, or tricolour (blue, white, red).

śakti (orange).

Although the god Kālacakra is represented in all the Tibetan paintings of the Tsok-shin, or assembly of the gods, he is but rarely mentioned in the Northern Buddhist texts. As *Kālacakra* is the title of a work in one of the divisions of the *Kanjur*, on a mystic system in Nepal (also called *Kālacakra*), it is possible that the god Kālacakra is a personification of that work, in the same way that Hevajra personifies the *Hevajra Tantra*, and the goddess Prajñāpāramitā the *Prajñāpāramitā*, or Treatise on Transcendent Wisdom.

In the temple banners Kālacakra is represented either as a Bodhisattva or a Yi-dam. As a Bodhisattva he wears a five-leaved crown, the traditional Bodhisattva ornaments, and is yellow ; but this form is very rare. He is usually represented as a Yi-dam with four heads, on each of which is a third eye. He may have twelve or twenty-four arms, but never has more than two legs. In his Yi-dam form he is dark blue, his body is covered by a tiger-skin, and he wears a belt formed of *vajras*.

Kālacakra is always represented in the *yab-yum* attitude, and may hold his *śakti*, with either two or four arms. If the former, he carries a *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*. If the latter, he holds two *vajras*, a flaming sword, and a symbol difficult to determine. In a Tibetan drawing belonging to M. Deniker¹ he has twenty-four arms and holds many symbols, among which are, at the right : a flaming sword, a trident, a chopper, an arrow, an axe, &c. At the left his hands carry : a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *kapāla*, a bow, a lasso, &c. These symbols, however, vary in the different Tsok-shin. In the *Three hundred Burqan* of Oldenburg, Kālacakra has only twelve arms.

He is always represented stepping to the left on two prostrate personages or demons, with four arms. The personage under the right foot holds a bow and arrow ; the one under the left a trident and *khaṭvāṅga*. There are sometimes two other demons who seem to be supporting the heels of the god, but may be also represented supporting the heads of the prostrate personages.

The *śakti* is represented with only one head in the *Pantheon des Tschangtscha Huktu* of Pander, No. 65, but in the text she is mentioned as having four heads, which is her usual number (v. Frontispiece). She may, however, have only two heads, and always has eight arms. With one of her arms, at the left, she encircles the neck of the god, while the others carry various symbols : a lasso, a flower, a *grigug*, a *vajra*, &c., and one hand may be making a *mudrā*. Her two legs are parallel with those of Kālacakra, and step on the same personages ; her colour is orange.

In one of the temple banners of the Tsok-shin, belonging to M. Bacot, Kālacakra is represented with the central head blue, that to the right white, while the two to the left are yellow and red. Of his twenty-four arms, eight are blue, eight are white, and the other eight are red. The right leg is white, and the left red. The *śakti* is orange in all the Tsok-shin (Ts'ogr-šin).

¹ I am indebted to M. Deniker for various iconographic details in this study.

THE DHARMAPĀLA

(Čhos-skyoñ)

(The Eight Terrible Ones). (T.) Drag-ched.¹

TABLE XIII

I. Feminine divinity on a mule				I. Lha-mo.	
II. Mas- culine divinities.	I. One head.	I. Two arms.	I. Warrior.	I. On a horse or dragon	II. Ts'añgs-pa.
				II. Stands on a per- sonage	III. Beg-ts'e.
			II. Not a warrior.	I. Stands on a bull and woman . .	IV. Yama.
				II. Sometimes on a lion	V. Kuvera.
		II. Four to six arms	I. Stands on one or two elephants .	VI. Mahākāla.	
			II. Horse's head in head-dress . .	VII. Hayagrīva.	
		II. More than one head	Stands on animals and demons . .		VIII. Yamāntaka.

¹ Table of J. Deniker.

THE DHARMAPĀLA

(Āchos-skyon)

‘The Eight Terrible Ones’ (Defenders of the Law).

(Drag-ched.)

THE Dharmapāla, Defenders of Northern Buddhism, are Tantra divinities with the rank of Bodhisattva, and are supposed to wage war without mercy against the demons and all enemies of Buddhism.

The Drag-ched are worshipped singly or in a group of eight, called ‘the Eight Terrible Ones’, and are not malignant deities, as erroneously supposed, but are represented in ferocious form to inspire malignant spirits with fear.

Their worship was instituted in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. by Padmasambhava when he went to Tibet at the request of the Buddhist Tibetan king Detsan. He waged war against and conquered all the malignant gods in Tibet, only sparing those that promised to become Defenders of the Law (Dharmapāla). Padmasambhava, in his turn, promised to enroll them in the Northern Buddhist Pantheon, and to see that they were properly worshipped.

The Dharmapāla forms, which seem horrible and even disgusting to the uninitiated, are, to the devotee, however crudely expressed, the symbol of a religious thought. Even the *yab-yum*¹ attitude, which so offended the more refined taste of the Chinese and Japanese, is, according to M. Deniker, but ‘an expression of divine ecstasy’. It symbolizes the Yoga system, or spiritual communion with the Most High.

The only goddess among the Dharmapāla is Lha-mo, who is also one of the most terrifying manifestations in the group. The only god who is not represented as ferocious is Kuvera, god of Wealth, and one wonders at his presence among the ‘Eight Terrible Ones’, since he has no ferocious form. The explanation might possibly be found in the fact that in every group of ferocious deities there must be, following tradition, at least one pacific divinity; but against this hypothesis one must admit that in almost all the temple pictures of this group of eight Drag-ched a pacific deity, Buddha or Bodhisattva, is added.

The ‘Eight Terrible Ones’ are:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Lha-mo. | 5. Kuvera. |
| 2. Ts’angs-pa. | 6. Hayagrīva. |
| 3. Beg-ts’e. | 7. Mahākāla. |
| 4. Yama. | 8. Yamāntaka. |

The lamas, however, sometimes make other combinations, putting one of the ferocious forms of Vajrapāṇi in the place of one of the usual group; or some other Dharmapāla manifestation of a Dhyāni-Bodhisattva taken for some special purpose,

¹ v. *Vairocana* and *yab-yum*; v. Glossary.



like Mañjuśrī, who took the ferocious form of Yamāntaka to conquer the god of Death, Yama.

In worshipping this group of eight Dharmapāla the priests wear a special five-leaved crown called *chodpan*, and special vestments.

The eight gods, with the exception of Kuvera and Ts'aṅgs-pa, are represented with a crown of five skulls, above each of which is generally a flaming pearl, and the dishevelled hair stands on end in flame shape. There is the third eye, the brows are scowling, and the expression shows great anger. Around the neck is a long garland of heads. The lower body is covered by a tiger, elephant, or human skin. They tread on human beings, or animals, and, if painted, are red, dark blue, or black.

The most ferocious gods of the group are represented on a pinkish lotus with jagged petals, and, with the exception of Yama, Kuvera, and Ts'aṅgs-pa, are almost invariably represented with their *śakti*.

(T.) LHA-MO (Dharmapāla).

‘The goddess.’

(S.) *Kāladevī*, *śrī-devī*, or *śrīmatīdevī*.

(T.) *dpal-ldan-lha-mo* (the glorious goddess).

(M.) *ūkin tegri* (lit. ‘goddess-daughter’).

Symbols: *khadga* (sword).

beng (mace).

Colour: blue.

Vāhana: horse (or mule).

Consort of Yama.

Lha-mo, the only feminine divinity among the ‘Eight Terrible Ones’, is one of the most terrifying manifestations in the Northern Buddhist Pantheon, and being the only goddess, Defender of the Mahāyāna school, she was armed by the gods. Hevajra gave her two dice to determine the life of men, Brahmā gave her a fan of peacock’s feathers, and from Viṣṇu she received two luminous objects, of which she wears one in her head-dress, while the other hangs over her navel. Kuvera, the god of Wealth, gave her a lion, which she wears in her right ear; and Nanda, the serpent god, gave her a serpent, which hangs from her left ear. From Vajrapāṇi she received a hammer. Other gods gave her a mule, whose covering is the skin of a Yaksha or demon, and the reins are of venomous serpents.

Lha-mo is represented seated sideways on her mule. She wears all the Dharmapāla ornaments, and behind the skull crown her hair, in which there is a serpent and half *vajra*, rises in flame shape, sometimes surmounted by a moon. She has the third eye, her expression is ferocious, and on either side of her head rise the stiff folds of a scarf like that worn by several of the Dharmapāla. She wears a long garland of heads, and over her navel hangs a wheel-shaped ornament. Her covering is a tiger-skin. In her right upraised hand she brandishes the *beng*, or sceptre, sometimes surmounted by a skull, while the left holds the skull cup at the breast. The back of the mule is covered by the skin of a demon, with the head hanging downwards. According to the legend given by Schlagintweit,¹ the skin is that of her son whom she killed, having

¹ *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 112.

made a vow that if she were unable to convert her people to Buddhism, she would kill her own son (Pl. XLVI, fig. a, Pl. LV).

The mule, if painted, is white, and has a disk between its ears; above the forelegs hang the dice given by Hevajra, and on its haunch is an eye, the legend of which is the following: In one of her incarnations, Lha-mo is believed to have been the wife of the king of the Yakshas in Ceylon. The goddess had made a vow to convert her husband to Buddhism, or failing, to extirpate the royal race; and finding it not in her power to influence her husband, she 'flayed her son alive, drank his blood, and even ate his flesh'. The king was so incensed that he seized his bow and shot off an arrow after his fleeing wife. It pierced the haunch of her mule, and she pulled it out, pronouncing the following sentence: 'May the wound of my mule become an eye large enough to overlook the twenty-four regions, and may I myself extirpate the race of these malignant kings of Ceylon!'

The goddess then continued her journey northward through India to Tibet, Mongolia, and China, and is supposed to have settled in Eastern Siberia.

Lha-mo is accompanied by two acolytes: the *ḍākinī* Makaravaktrā (blue), who is either elephant or dolphin-headed and holds the bridle of the mule; and the *ḍākinī* Simhavaktrā (red), with a lion's head, who follows her, holding a chopper and a skull cup. The group walks on a lake of blood, in which float skulls and human bones.

Although she is the consort of Yama, there is an example of Lha-mo in the embrace of Samvara with the elephant-skin over his shoulder, who is seated sideways on the mule (Pl. XLVI, fig. a).

Lha-mo is sometimes surrounded by four ferocious goddesses, who are, according to Grünwedel:

1. Goddess of Spring (blue), seated on a yellow mule, holding a sword and a skull cup.
2. Goddess of Summer (red), on a blue yak, and holds a hatchet and skull.
3. Goddess of Autumn (yellow), on a deer, and holds a knife and skull cup, and around her neck are peacock plumes.
4. Goddess of Winter (blue), on a camel. She carries a hammer and a skull cup.

In Tibet, Lha-mo is looked upon as the Protectress of the Dalai-lama of Lha-sa and Tashi-Lumpo.

(T.) TS'ĀNGS-PA DKAR-PO (Dharmapāla)

'White Brahmā'.

(M.) <i>esrua</i> (proper name).	Symbol: <i>khaḍga</i> (sword).
(S.) <i>Brahmā</i> .	Vāhana: white horse (or
(C.) <i>Fan-wang</i> (梵王).	dragon).

Although Ts'angs-pa is one of the 'Eight Terrible Ones', but very little is known about him. He may be represented seated on a white horse, brandishing a sword, and sometimes carrying a banner. Like Beg-ts'e, he is a warrior god, but not so

PLATE XLVI



a. SAMVARA ON THE MULE OF LHA-MO
(LHA-MO AS ŚAKTI ?)



b. LHA-MO



c. LHA-MO

ferocious in aspect. Behind his crown is a turban, in which there may be a conch-shell, and he wears flowing garments and long sleeves. He sometimes accompanies one of the Five Great Kings, in which case he rides on a ram.

According to Pander,¹ Ts'angs-pa may be represented with four heads, like the Hindu form of Brahmā, in which case he holds the Buddhist wheel at his breast with the right hand. The left seems to be in *abhaya mudrā*.

(T.) BEG-TS'E² (Dharmapāla)

(lit. 'hidden sheet of mail').

God of War and Protector of Horses.

(T.) *lcam-sriñ* (brother and sister), or

Beg-ts'e (hidden shirt of mail).

(M.) *egeči degiüü* (sister-brother).

Symbol: *khaḍga* (sword, with a shrimp-shaped handle).

Colour: red.

Little is known of the ferocious warrior god, Beg-ts'e, who seems to be confounded by the Northern Buddhists with Hayagrīva, whom some of the sects also call 'Protector of Horses'.

We hear of Beg-ts'e in a Mongolian legend³ as appearing before the Dalaï-lama, mK'a-sgrub bSod-nams rgya-mts'o, at the head of an army of demons in the guise of different animals—horses, camels, rats, &c. The Dalaï-lama had been summoned from Tibet by the powerful king, Altan Khan, to convert the Mongols to Buddhism, and when he found himself thus confronted he took, by his magic power, the form of the four-armed Avalokiteśvara, with the two original arms at his breast in 'prayer' *mudrā*. The footsteps of his horse left the marks of Avalokiteśvara's mantra, 'Ōm, mañi padme hūm!' and Beg-ts'e, becoming convinced of his superior power and wisdom, was converted to Buddhism.

Beg-ts'e belongs to the group of the 'Eight Terrible Ones', and, as a warrior, wears a breastplate, while on his feet are Mongolian boots. His hair stands upright like flames of fire, he wears the skull crown, and has the third eye. His expression is ferocious. The right arm brandishes the sword—with a curious shrimp-shaped handle; the left hand holds a heart with the thumb and index, as if he were about to put it in his mouth—but this symbol may be missing. His left arm holds, against his body, a sword or arrow, bow, and flag. His lower limbs are covered by a tiger-skin, and he wears a long garland of heads. The god steps to the right on a prostrate horse, and his left foot treads on a human being. He may be accompanied by two small acolytes, a warrior seated on a wolf, and a nude figure of a woman seated on a lion. As *lcam-sriñ* means 'brother and sister', Grünwedel believes he may be so named on account of these two little figures.

¹ *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*.
No. 278.

² Lit. 'breastplate covered'.

³ Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhismes*, p. 82.

YAMA (Dharmapāla)

or Dharmarāja.

God of Death.

(T.) <i>cos-rgyal</i> (king of the religion), or <i>gśin-rje</i> (lord of the dead).	Distinctive mark : wheel ornament on the breast.
(M.) <i>erlik qan</i> (king Erlik).	Consort : Lha-mo.
(C.) <i>Yen-lo-wang</i> (閻羅王).	Attendant : his sister Yamī.
(J.) <i>Emma-Ō</i> .	Different forms : Phyi-sgrub.
Colour : dark blue, red or white (or yellow).	Snag-sgrub.
Symbols : <i>ābyug-pa</i> (sceptre).	Gsang-sgrub.
<i>pāsa</i> (lasso).	Yama is a Dharmapāla (Drag-ched) with
<i>grigug</i> (chopper).	rank of Bodhisattva.

Yama, the Indian Pluto, was originally a king of Vaiśālī, who, when engaged in a bloody war, wished he were master of hell, and was accordingly reborn as Yama in hell,¹ together with his generals and army. His palace, made of copper and iron, was, according to the *purāṇas*, 'at the extremity of the earth, southward, and floating on the waters'. The wicked had 688,000 miles to travel, through terrifying ordeals, to reach it and receive their final punishment.

Yama, king and judge of the dead, is believed to sit in the centre of the regions of hell, which comprise eight hot and eight cold hells, as well as innumerable other places of punishment. The wicked are brought before him to be questioned and judged, and are then conducted to their punishment by demons.

Yama is generally accompanied by his sister Yamī, whose duty is to look after the female culprits. Although he is supreme ruler of hell, Yama nevertheless undergoes the same torments as the rest, in order to expiate his own sins, when he will be reborn as Samantarāja.

Pander, in his *Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*,² gives the following legend in regard to Yama: There was once a holy man who lived in a cave in deep meditation for fifty years, after which he was to enter into Nirvāṇa. On the night of the forty-ninth year, eleventh month, and twenty-ninth day, two robbers entered the cave with a stolen bull, which they proceeded to kill by cutting off its head. When they discovered the presence of the ascetic, they decided to do away with him as witness of their theft. He begged them to spare his life, explaining that in a few moments he would be entering into Nirvāṇa, and that if they killed him before the time he would lose all the benefit of his fifty years' penance. But they refused to believe him, and cut off his head, whereupon his body assumed the ferocious form of Yama, King of Hell, and taking up the bull's head, he set it on his own headless shoulders. He then killed the two robbers and drank their blood from cups made of their skulls. In his fury and insatiable thirst for victims he threatened to depopulate the whole of Tibet. The Tibetans appealed to their tutelary deity, Mañjuśrī, to protect them from this formidable enemy, whereupon he assumed the ferocious form of Yamāntaka and

¹ Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, and v. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, p. 194–6.

² p. 61.



a. YAMA



b. YAMA



c. SAMVARA



d. SAMVARA

waged war against Yama. A fearful struggle ensued, in which Yamāntaka (lit. 'he who conquers death') was victorious.

Yama has three forms, of which there are many variations: Phyi-sgrub, Snag-sgrub, and Gsang-sgrub. It is under this last form, Gsang-sgrub, that Yama was conquered by Yamāntaka.

Gsang-sgrub. In this form he has a bull's head, third eye, and crown of skulls, behind which his hair rises in flame shape. He steps to the right on a bull, and holds a *grigug* (chopper) in his right hand and *kapāla* (skull cup) in his left. He may, however, hold a *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel) in his right hand instead of the *grigug*, in which case he is looked upon as a 'God of Wealth'. He may also hold a mace and lasso (Pl. XLVII, fig. a). If painted, he is red. He is often accompanied by the Citipati or two skeletons dancing the Tsam dance (v. Citipati, Pl. LV).

Phyi-sgrub, or minister of the exterior. He is represented with a bull's head, third eye, crown of skulls, hair rising in flame shape, and is naked, but has a belt of heads and many jewels.¹ On his breast is an ornament representing the Buddhist wheel, his distinctive mark, for Tsoñ-ka-pa, before his death, appointed Yama protector of the Yellow Bonnets (Ge-lugs-pa sect) with great ceremony. He steps to the right on a bull, under which is a woman, and his attitude and expression show great excitement and fury. He is never represented with a *śakti*, but may be accompanied by his sister Yamī, in which case, if painted, Yama is dark blue and Yamī pale blue. Yamī stands at his left holding a skull cup. If Yama is without his sister he is painted white or yellow.

Snag-sgrub, minister of the interior. In this form he is Judge of Hell. He is like the above, except that he steps to the left on a man—and his symbols are *grigug* and *kapāla*. He is sometimes accompanied by two acolytes, each treading on a bull. If painted, his colour is dark blue.

Yama may be represented with a human face and with two of his six arms raised above his head in prayer *mudrā*. On his breast is his distinctive mark, the wheel, and he may step directly on the lotus throne (Pl. XLVII, fig. b).

In China Yen-lo-wang (Yama) is not regent of the Buddhist hells; he is a subordinate under Ti-tsang (see) and the fifth of the ten Kings of Hell, who reign over ten courts of judgement. They are represented in Chinese temples, standing when in the presence of Ti-tsang, and surrounded by representations of the torments of the different hells.

Yen-lo-wang is believed to be assisted by his sister, who judges the women, while he judges the men. They are called the Gam-ma-rāja or the *Royal Pair*. He is referred to in the *Ti-tsang sūtra* as 'coming from the Iron Mountain, where the Buddhist hells are situated, to the Tao-li heaven (*Trayastrimśa*) to hear Śākya-muni Buddha deliver a *sūtra* there'.

In Japan Emma-Ō (Yama) is regent, and holds the same position as Yama in India. In both China and Japan the representations of Yama are practically alike, a middle-aged man with a fierce expression and a beard. On his head is a judge's cap, and he is dressed in flowing garments with the feet always covered. He is seated with the legs locked or pendant, and in his right hand is the mace of office.

¹ Illus. in Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 64, fig. 48.

FORMS OF THE GOD OF WEALTH

TABLE XIV

I. Pāñcika.

II. Kuvera.

Yi-dam.	{	Jambala. Special emblem : Jambhara (lemon). Symbols : <i>nakula</i> (mongoose). <i>lai-bumpa</i> (flat vessel).
Dharmapāla.	{	I. Kuvera. Regent of the North. Special emblem : <i>dhvaja</i> (flag). Symbol : <i>nakula</i> . Dressed like a warrior.
	{	II. Vaiśravaṇa. Symbols : mongoose. trident. <i>lai-bumpa</i> or sword, &c.
Tantra (?) form.	{	Five heads, three legs, eight teeth. Mudrā : <i>vajra-hūṃ-kāra</i> . Symbols : <i>vajra</i> (thunderbolt). <i>ghaṇṭā</i> (bell). <i>grigug</i> (chopper). <i>kapāla</i> (skull cup).

III. Mahākāla.

KUVERA (or Kubera) or VAIŚRAVAṆA (his patronymic)

God of Wealth.

Guardian of the North.

(T.) *nam-t'os-sras* (*Nam-toi-sre*) (son of *nam-t'os*).

(M.) *bisman tegri* (the god Bisman).

(C.) *Pi-sha-men* or *Ts'ai-shên* (財神) or *To-wen*.

(J.) *Bishamon*.

Special symbol: *nakula*¹ (mongoose vomiting jewels).

Symbols: trident.

dhvaja (banner).

lai-bumpa (flat vessel, &c.).

Colour: yellow.

Vāhana: *pushpaka* (self-moving chariot).
elephant or lion.

Consort: *Bhūñjati* (?).

Śakti: Vasudhārā.

As Dharmapāla (Drag-ched): Kuvera or
Vaiśravaṇa.

As Yi-dam: Jambala (Dsambhala).

Special symbol: *jambhara* (lemon).

Symbol: *nakula* (mongoose).

ACCORDING to Hindu mythology, Kuvera was the son of a sage called 'Viśravas', hence his patronymic, Viśravaṇa or Vaiśravaṇa. He is said to have performed austerities for a thousand years, in reward for which Brahmā gave him immortality and made him god of Wealth, guardian of all the treasures of the earth, which he was to give out to whom they were destined.

Kuvera's abode was said to be on Mount Kailās; but when Brahmā appointed him God of Riches, he gave him Laṅkā (Ceylon) as his capital, and presented him, according to the *Mahābhārata*, with the car *pushpaka*, which was of immense size and 'moved at the owner's will at marvellous speed'.²

Kuvera was also worshipped by the Buddhists, and was looked upon as one of the Lokapāla, guardians of Mount Sumeru, the centre of the Universe; as well as one of the Regents of the Four Cardinal Points. As Regent of the North he was called Vaiśravaṇa, and his abode was Alaka in the Himālayas, abounding in wealth and magnificence, where he was attended by Yakṣas and horse-headed men called Kin-naras.

Now, twenty-eight of the Yakṣas were generals in the army of Vaiśravaṇa, and their chief was the Yakṣa Pāñcika,³ who is of great interest for two reasons: first, because although a Yakṣa he was deified, and his form, possibly more ancient than that of Kuvera, finally became absorbed into, or rather confounded with, the 'warrior' form

¹ v. Foucher, *Sur un attribut de Kuvera*, B. E. F. E. O. iii, 655-657. Nakula (Chin. *No-ku-lo*) is also the name of the fifth of the eighteen Lohans or Sthaviras, disciples of Buddha, and his sphere of action was Jambudvīpa (India). His name is found enrolled in the list of gods in the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean temples, and he is represented in Tibetan temple pictures with a

mongoose under his arm or in his hand, or holding a three-legged frog. T. Watters, *Eighteen Lohans of Chinese Buddhist Temples*, Shanghai, 1899.

² Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*.

³ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, p. 112. Pāñcika is also the third of the Eight Great Yakṣas.

of the Guardian of the North ; secondly, because, as consort of the Yakshiṇī Hārītī, he is often figured beside her in the Gandhāra sculptures and was not unknown in Chinese Turkestan.

In the *Divyāvadāna*,¹ the general Pāñcika is referred to as executing the orders of his king, the god Kuvera (also called Vaiśravaṇa in the same text); and in the *Lalita-vistara*² we learn that among those assembled at the palace of Śuddhōdana-rāja in order to prevent the Bodhisattva from going out into the world were twenty-eight Yakṣas, generals in the army of Kuvera, and led by their chief, Pāñcika, who was accompanied by the 500 sons of Hārītī. Foucher tells us³ that in the *Mahāvamśa*, Pāñcika is referred to as the father of the 500 sons of Hārītī ; but in none of the Buddhist texts is the Yakṣa general alluded to as ' Bestower of Riches '. He is nevertheless represented in the sculptures of Gandhāra, not only holding the symbol of his warlike pursuits, a lance, but a *bag of jewels* as well.

There is also another form about which we are still in the dark, where Pāñcika is figured holding the lance in his right hand, while perched on his left is a bird which resembles the bird that often accompanies the Sung-tzū Kuan-yin in China ; and at Tyandī Mendut, in Java, there are two birds hovering around the head of Pāñcika.⁴

In almost all of the representations in Northern India, Pāñcika wears a bejewelled turban, a necklace, and bracelets. He is bare to the waist, and his legs are covered by a *dhōṭī* or drapery which hangs in folds around him ; but in one of the representations, with lance and bird, he seems to wear a kind of armour.⁵

When seated beside Hārītī, he usually holds the lance in his right hand, and the bag of money is either in his left or is carried by an attendant. If Hārītī carries the child in her arms, it is curious to note that Pāñcika is almost invariably represented bare to the waist ; while if she holds the cornucopia, he wears a short tunic belted in at the waist and falling only to the knees. In this form he always carries the money-bag himself, as well as the lance.⁶

When figured alone, Pāñcika does not always carry the lance, and he may also be without the pouch ; but in that case it is held by an attendant, who may be represented pouring out money from the bag.⁷

If we follow him to Java and study his form, especially at Tyandī Mendut, we find him seated with the right leg pendant, covered with jewels, and around him many children are playing. He carries neither the lance nor the money-bag, but the throne is supported by several bags of jewels. In this Javanese form, if he held a *nakula* or a money-bag, he would more closely resemble the Tibetan representations of Kuvera than do his images in Gandhāra ; and possibly the ' Bestower of Riches ' in the monasteries of Northern India was also nearer the corpulent, self-complacent ' Kuvera ' type. Unfortunately, beside the fact that he was represented seated with one leg pendant and holding a ' golden ' money-bag, we have practically no indica-

¹ pp. 163 and 447.

² Trans. Foucaux, vol. i, p. 177.

³ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, p. 115.

⁴ Groneman, *Ruins of Buddhistic Temples*, Pl. II.

⁵ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, vol. ii, fig. 378.

⁶ Ibid. fig. 382 and fig. 387.

⁷ Ibid. vol. ii, fig. 364.

tions in regard to this image in the monasteries about whom I-ching records that he was black in colour because of the oil poured over him by the faithful.¹

It has been thought that just because he is represented opposite Hārītī in the refectories of the *viḥāras*, he is probably the Yakṣa general Pāñcika; but there are certain Buddhist texts² which mention a Yakṣa called Āṭavaka³ who was placed opposite Hārītī in the refectories of the monasteries in China and who shared with her the daily offerings of food.

Now Āṭavaka, also, was a cannibal Yakṣa. He dwelt under a huge banyan tree where four roads met, and ate all unfortunate beings who wandered under its shade. One day the king of Alow,⁴ having strayed away from his attendants in pursuit of a deer, stopped to rest under the banyan tree, and thus became a prey to the cannibal Yakṣa. When Āṭavaka approached to slay him, the terrified king offered to send him a daily victim if he would spare his life. At the end of twelve years, the only one left to send to the Yakṣa was the son of the king; and he was taken to the banyan tree where dwelt Āṭavaka. Now the Buddha who sees all things repaired to the banyan tree, and converting the cannibal Yakṣa, commanded him to give back the young prince to his attendants, who forthwith returned rejoicing to the palace.

As the history of Āṭavaka is parallel with that of Hārītī, it is not surprising to find him opposite her in the monasteries in China; but unfortunately none of the texts describe the deity. We know not whether Āṭavaka was figured holding a money-bag or no. It seems possible, however, that he is one and the same as the nameless deity whom the Chinese pilgrims found in the *viḥāras* opposite Hārītī, and who was worshipped as 'Bestower of Riches' by the common people, especially in the centres of commerce where the caravans passed; while in China his worship was probably confined to a more learned class who founded their cult on the *sūtras* and thus knew his name Āṭavaka.

It is extremely difficult to decide which forms are Pāñcika when without the lance or not surrounded by children, and which are Kuvera. As a general rule it may be said that Pāñcika never holds the *nakula*, while Kuvera may carry either the mongoose or the money bag. Since the form of Pāñcika with lance and money-bag was unknown outside of Northern India, he was possibly confounded by the common people of the caravans, because of the money-bag, with the 'Jambala' form of Kuvera, which was especially popular in Nepal; and very probably on account of his lance, he became absorbed into the 'warrior' form of Kuvera or Vaiśravaṇa and was thus worshipped later in Japan under the name of Bishamon.

Kuvera is mentioned in very ancient texts, but, unfortunately, without reference to his symbols. Statues of him in Nepal date back to the eleventh century, while in India, in the Magadha, they are much earlier, and it is believed that the most ancient statues of Mahākāla (the Great Black One) were in reality but statues of Kuvera, for in Nepal they held the mongoose, and in India the long narrow bag of gold.

¹ *Records*, p. 38. ² v. Peri, *Hārītī*, p. 56.

³ Āṭavika (Foucher), Alawaka (Spence Hardy).

⁴ For legend, see Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p.

269, and Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 507. Illust. figs. 252, 253, and Hackin, *Les Scènes figurées de la vie du Bouddha*, pp. 51-54, Pl. xii.

PLATE XLVIII



a. KUVERA



b. KUVERA



c. KUVERA



d. KUVERA

The Lamas claim that the mongoose symbolizes Kuvera's victory over the Nāgas, guardians of the treasures. The *nakula*, however, is merely a bag made of the skin of a mongoose, replacing the long narrow sack of the earlier images. In Java, according to Oldenburg, the long narrow sack is rarely finished by the head of a mongoose as it is in the Magadha, but the neck is left open resembling a mouth.¹

Kuvera has both Yi-dam and Dharmapāla forms of great antiquity in India and Nepal. As Yi-dam he is called Jambala, probably from the *jambhara* (lemon) this form always carries in his right hand. Under his left arm is the usual mongoose, vomiting jewels.² With but very few exceptions, of which one is in the British Museum, only the Jambala form of Kuvera carries the large mongoose under the arm, while all the other forms hold on the palm of the left hand a small mongoose with a single jewel in its mouth.

There is an example of Kuvera in a crouching position holding a *kapāla* in the right hand, while the left rests on the neck of a mongoose which hangs over the left knee. He wears serpent ornaments, and in his head-dress is the small image of a Dhyāni-Buddha.

Kuvera is always represented corpulent and covered with jewels. His right foot is generally pendant and supported by a lotus-flower on which is a conch-shell, or a *lai-bumpa*, a low, flat vessel used in the Lamaist ceremonies as an object of contemplation, to procure perfection in abstract thought. The vessel is usually represented overturned, with jewels sometimes issuing from it and falling over the lotus-throne. The conch-shell may also be supported by a vase. He may also carry a vase somewhat in the shape of an ambrosia vase under his right arm. According to Oldenburg, his foot may rest on a bag of precious things supported by a lotus-flower.

His Dharmapāla form is called 'Kuvera', and he is either represented sitting on a lion³ (white, with green mane), or on several cushions called *kholbok*,⁴ the number of cushions indicating the rank given him. He may also be seated on a horse⁵ (Pl. XLVIII, fig. *a*), and Grünwedel mentions a form sitting or standing on a demon.⁶ He carries the *dhvaja*, or victorious banner, or a trident, in his right hand, and a small mongoose, with a jewel in its mouth, in the palm of his left hand. According to Schlagintweit, he is accompanied by eight Vaisravanas, each with his own special symbol in his right hand: a jewel, a sword, a *lai-bumpa*, a small shrine several stories high, called *khangtsig*, &c. They all carry, in the left, a small mongoose with a jewel in its mouth.

¹ Oldenburg, *A propos de l'histoire du type des images de Kuvera avec Nakula*. Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnologie, St-Petersbourg, 1903, vol. iv. In the Musée Guimet, however, there are five examples of the Javanese Kuvera, where the mongoose is represented in the usual manner. In the British Museum there is a bronze with the *nakula* holding a purse in its mouth.

² Pl. XLVIII, fig. *d*. According to Pander

(*Pantheon*, p. 101, fig. 266) there is a white form of Jambala holding a trident and sceptre. He is seated sideways on a dragon. v. Pl. LVI, *a* and *b*.

³ Pl. XLVIII, fig. *b*.

⁴ Pl. XLVIII, fig. *c*.

⁵ In one of the miniatures in the Nepalese MS. Add. 1643, in the University Library, Cambridge, there is a personage seated on a horse at the foot of Avalokiteśvara, who holds an object, which may be a mongoose, in his hand.

⁶ Called *nara-vāhana*, Pl. LII, fig. *b*.

Kuvera may have a third eye, and is often represented with a closely cut beard under the chin, reaching from ear to ear. He is found in a triad with the Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Maṇḍa, Buddha of Medicine.

There is a special ceremony in Tibet for imploring Kuvera for riches, which is called Yanyung, and he plays an important part in the Tantras, in sorcery and exorcism.

The illustration on Pl. XLIX is a bronze which, as far as the author knows, is unique, and might possibly be a representation of the Tantra form of Kuvera. Its three legs agree with the description of Kuvera in Hindu mythology, but there are five heads instead of three, one on either side of the central head, and two above the central one (all of which have the third eye and an angry expression). The second head above the central one (which would be Ratnasambhava if the god is Kuvera) has a sweet expression. The hair stands upright from the heads, in flame shape, forming a nimbus for the two upper heads. He has eight arms. The two normal arms are in *vajra-hūṃ-kara mudrā* (crossed on the breast), and the hands hold *kapāla* (skull cups) which are supported by the arms from underneath. The other hands hold the *ghaṇṭā* (bell), *vajra* (thunderbolt), and *grigug* (chopper). The hips are covered by a human skin, and the feet of the three legs rest on skulls. The necklets, bracelets, and anklets are snakes.

Kuvera is also one of the four Lokapāla which are supposed to inhabit the lowest compartments of the heavens, guarding the regions assigned them from the wicked spirits called Asuras. Each has an immortal elephant, eight generals, and an army of demons, and all are worshipped with fervour by the common people as well as by the priests.

In Java, we find not only the 'transitional' form of Pāñcika referred to above, but many examples of the Indian manifestation of Kuvera: corpulent, complaisant, wearing a crown and many jewels, sitting with one leg pendant supported by a bag of treasures. He is figured carrying either the *nakula* as an animal or the mongoose as a bag, with jewels pouring out of its mouth. He may even carry both, or else have the usual bag of money under the other arm.¹

For his Chinese and Japanese forms v. *Lokapāla*.

MAHAKĀLA (Dharmapāla)

The Great Black One.

(T.) *mgon-po* (the protector), or *nag-po c'en-po*
(the Great Black One).

(M.) *yeke gara* (the Great Black One).

(C.) *Ta-hei-wang* (大黑王).

(J.) *Dai-ko-ku*.

Special symbol: *triśūla* (trident).

Colour: black (or dark blue) or white.

Distinctive mark: treads on one or two elephants.

One of the 'Eight Terrible Ones' (Drag-ched).

It is claimed that Mahākāla, holding the trident, is no other than a form of the Greek god Poseidon² copied from Indo-Scythian coins; but it seems also possible that he is merely the result of a misnomer: in other words, that Mahākāla and Kuvera are

¹ See collection of Kuvera from Java in the Musée Guimet.

² Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 24.



DHARMAPĀLA UNDETERMINED

PLATE L



a. MAHĀKĀLA



b. MAHĀKĀLA



c. MAHĀKĀLA (MGON-DKAR)



d. MAHĀKĀLA (MGON-DKAR)

one and the same divinity. Yi-tsing, the Chinese author and pilgrim, relates,¹ as we have seen above, that at the doors of the Indian monasteries there was usually the statue of a deity, seated, with one leg pendant, holding a bag of gold; and that this god was called 'Mahākāla' (the Great Black One), because he was blackened by the oil constantly poured over him by the faithful in performing *pūjā*.² This description of the god seems to indicate Kuvera;³ and the Nepalese Mahākāla, holding a mongoose under his arm, resembles Kuvera even more closely. The Tibetan form of Mahākāla, however, is definite and in no way resembles Kuvera, although one of his manifestations is called 'god of wealth'.

The tutelary god of Mongolia is Mahākāla, but he was not popular until the sixteenth century, when the Dalaï-lama, mK'asgrub of Lhasa, was summoned to the court of Altan Khan, and so influenced the king that all non-Buddhist idols were burned, and the six-armed Mahākāla was proclaimed Protector of the Mongolian Buddhists.

Mahākāla may be both Yi-dam and Dharmapāla, and has innumerable forms; but they may all be classed under four heads, or five if we include the special manifestation of mGon-po-Bramzei.

Mahākāla mGon-dkar, god of Wealth, is the special protector of the Mongolian Buddhists. He has one head, which is sometimes deformed to resemble a bull, his hair stands upright behind the crown, flame-shaped, he has the third eye, and his expression is angry. He has six arms. The *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel) is in the hand of his right (original) arm and is held against his breast. In the left is a *kapāla* (skull cup) held underneath the magic jewel. The other four hands hold chopper, small drum, trident, and elephant-goad. He has an elephant-skin covering, and a scarf rises stiffly from his shoulders, almost forming a nimbus around his head. He stands on two elephants, and, if painted, he is white (Pl. I, figs. c and d).⁴

Mahākāla mGon-po resembles the white Mahākāla with the exception of two symbols. Instead of the *cintāmaṇi*, he holds a *grigug* in his original right hand. The other four symbols are: a rosary of skulls, a trident, a lasso, and a disk. His two upper arms hold an elephant-skin over his shoulders. He wears a belt of heads, and steps to the right on a prostrate elephant-headed god, the demon Vinataka (Brahman god Gaṇesa), who holds a flower in one hand and either a skull cup or rat in the other. If painted, he is dark blue. This form is also popular in Mongolia (Pl. I, fig. b).

There is an unusual example of this form with only two arms. The right holds a sword, and the left is in a mystic *mudrā*. He stands on an elephant-headed personage. In his hair is a small image of a Dhyāni-Buddha (Pl. I, fig. a).

Mahākāla, Protector of Science, is seated on a personage and has one leg pendant. He has four arms. His symbols are: trident, sword, skull cup, and a fruit. He is dark blue.

Mahākāla, Protector of the Tent, holds a *grigug* (chopper) and lasso, and horizontally on his arms he balances a stick. He treads on a personage and is dark blue.

mGonpo Bramzei is a special form taken by Mahākāla to manifest himself to the

¹ *Records*, p. 38.

² A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 126.

³ v. *Kuvera*.

⁴ There is also a white form with only two arms holding a skull-topped sceptre in the right hand and a *kapāla* in the left. v. Pl. XLV.

great lama P'ags-pa in the thirteenth century, when he was called to the Imperial Court to convert the Emperor Khubilai, who was already conversant with the *sūtra* of the *Hevajra-tantra*. P'ags-pa, on the contrary, had never seen this *sūtra*, and finding it impossible to reply to the questions of the emperor, begged that the discussion be put off until the next day. That night, while in utter despair at being unable to get hold of the *Hevajra-tantra*, there appeared, to his astonishment, an old white-haired Brāhmaṇa, who told him to arrange his lamp and then put before him the coveted *sūtra*. He was thus able to confer with the emperor on the following day and convert him. The old Brāhmaṇa was none other than Mahākāla under the form of—

mGonpo-Bramzei (Mahākāla Brāhmaṇarūpa). In this form he has one head and wears a long white beard. He may have a third eye. In his right hand is a trumpet made of a human thigh-bone, and in the left is a *kapāla* full of blood. Around his left arm is a rosary of skulls. He may step to the right on a personage or be kneeling on him, in which case he holds the trumpet to his mouth.

In Japan, Dai-koku, god of Wealth, and one of the Seven Gods of Good Luck, has a form which in no way resembles the Tibetan Mahākāla, for he is represented as a very fat, jolly-faced man, usually seated, and with a huge bag of grain at his side. He is the Japanese form of the Mahākāla mGon-dkar.

HAYAGRĪVA (Dharmapāla).

(The Horse-necked One.)

(T.) *rta-mgrin* (pro. *tam-din*) (lit. 'with the neck of a horse').

(M.) *morin qogholai-tu* (with the neck of a horse).

(C.) *Pi-mih-ma-t'eu-kin-kang*.

(J.) *Ba-tō Kwan-non*.

Symbols : *vajra* (thunderbolt).
beng (mace).

Colour : red or dark brown.

Śakti : *Mārici* (light blue).

Distinctive mark : horse's head in head-dress.

Hayagrīva, as a Dharmapāla, has the rank of Bodhisattva, but, according to Grünwedel,¹ may also take a Yi-dam form, in which case he would have the rank of a Buddha.

He is worshipped in Tibet principally by the horse-dealers, for, although he is not the god, Protector of Horses, he is believed to frighten away the demons by neighing like a horse. When invoked, he is said to announce his coming by neighing, which may account for the presence of a horse's head, his distinctive mark, in his head-dress.

The horse is one of the *Sapta Ratna* (the Seven Precious Things), and Lungta, the 'airy horse', is extremely popular among the nomadic tribes of Tibet, as he may be invoked without the intervention of a lama. Schlagintweit says, 'The efficacy of any *dhāraṇī*, or mystical sentence, for happiness in this existence is supposed to become more certain by the presence of Lungta ; and from this belief it has become customary to add to the *dhāraṇī* a horse supporting the precious stone Norbu, or a figure allegorical of the horse, or at least an address directed to Lungta.'² Haya-

¹ *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 166.

² *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 254.

PLATE LI



a. MAGIC PHURBU



b. MAHAKALA (') PHURBU

grīva's popularity may therefore possibly be attributed to the usual presence of the horse's head in his dishevelled hair, but it is sometimes missing.

In his most simple form he is normal, and swings a sword in his right hand and holds a lasso in the other. His hair is dishevelled, and protruding from it is a horse's head. He wears a crown of skulls, and under a belt of heads hangs a tiger-skin. He may have one head and four arms, in which case his upper hands hold the mace (on the top of which may be a skull) and a flower. The lower left hand holds a wheel (or lasso) against the breast. The right hand makes a mystic *mudrā* and he steps to the right on a lotus-throne.

There is a form with three heads, four arms, and four legs, which is believed to be his manifestation when invoked by the Indian Paṇḍit Atīśa, who was invited by the Tibetan king in the eleventh century A.D. to reform the Northern Buddhist faith in Tibet. He is represented like the above with dishevelled hair, crown of skulls, belt of heads, and a tiger-skin covering. The upper hands hold a thunderbolt and a flower, the lower hands draw the bow. He steps to the right on demons.

He may have still another form with three heads, six arms, and eight legs. His symbols are the thunderbolt, trident, lasso, &c., and from his dishevelled hair may protrude three horses' heads (Pl. XLIV, fig. b).

Hayagrīva may have *garuḍa* wings. In this form he has three heads, a third eye, a necklace of heads, wears a lion's and elephant's skin, and steps to the right on demons. He has six arms, the upper hands holding the double thunderbolt and sword, the next the mace and *khaṭvāṅga* (magic stick). The lower arms encircle the *śakti* if he is in *yab-yum* attitude, and hold the *kapāla* (skull cup) in the left, while the right is in mystic *mudrā*. The *śakti* has a crown of heads, a third eye, and holds a skull cup and a flower. She encircles the *yab* with her legs, and her mouth almost touches the tongue of the god. If painted, she is light blue (Pl. XLIV, fig. c).

In the miniatures Hayagrīva is never represented otherwise than as an assistant. According to M. Foucher, a form of the god found in the *sādhana* has three heads: the first blue, showing the tongue; the second, red and smiling; the third, white, biting its lips. They are placed one on either side of the central head, which is red. He has eight arms, and carries a thunderbolt, mace, flower, lotus, bow and arrow, and two hands make a mystic gesture. In his hair is a small image of Akshobhya.

The *phur-bu*,¹ magic dagger, is believed to be a form of Hayagrīva, especially when topped with his head having the horse's head in his dishevelled hair.

Hayagrīva with Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, and Bhṛikuṭi often accompany Avalokiteśvara, in which case Hayagrīva is always at his left.

His manifestation in Japan is apparently Ba-tō Kwan-non,² for the resemblance is too close to admit of any doubt. In China he seems to have been little known.

¹ v. *Phur-bu*. v. Pl. LI.

² v. *Ba-to Kwan-non*.

YAMĀNTAKA (Dharmapāla)

Conqueror of Death (Yama).

(T.) *gšin-rje-gsed* (exterminator of the Lord of Death), or *hjags-byed* (he who causes fear).

(M.) *erlig-jin jarghaqči* (exterminator of Erlik).

(C.) *Yen-man-tē-kia* (閻曼德迦).

Symbols: *grigug* (chopper).

kapāla (skull cup).

Colour: red (when alone), black or dark blue.

Distinctive mark: bull's head.

Different names: Srivajrabhairava, Vajrabhaya-kara, Vajrabhairava, Bhairava, and Yamāri.

One of the 'Eight Terrible Ones' (Dharmapāla or Drag-ched).

Yi-dam of the dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow Bonnet) sect.¹

Yamāntaka, the ferocious emanation of Mañjuśrī, is the most complicated and terrible of all the Northern Buddhist divinities. Under this form he conquered the demon king of Death, Yama, who was depopulating Tibet in his insatiable thirst for victims.

Both Yama and Yamāntaka are represented with bull's heads, but Yama always has an ornament, shaped like a wheel, on his breast, which is his distinctive mark.

Yamāntaka as Vajrabhairava may be represented with a human head. According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa,² in his description of certain Tibetan scrolls found in a monastery near Gyantse, Vajrabhairava 'possesses a disproportionately large head, scowling brows, three cruel eyes, and a gaping mouth, showing canine fangs and rolling tongue'. Nor does he figure with a bull's head in the two *sādhana* mentioned by M. Foucher,³ for in the first he has six faces, and in the second one face.

The simplest form of Yamāntaka has one head (a bull's) and two arms. He has a crown of skulls and the third eye. In his right hand is a chopper and in his left a skull cup (*kapāla*). He has a belt of heads and steps to the right (Pl. LII, fig. a).

In the *Śrīmahāvajrabhairava tantra* there is a detailed account of the way Yamāntaka should be represented if painted.⁴ He is to have sixteen feet, thirty-four arms, nine heads, is naked and black; he steps to the right, and his aspect is more than terrible. The first head is that of a bull. Next to the right horn, he must have three heads: blue, grey, and black (description of three heads on left side omitted). Between the horns must be painted a head, red and terrible, above which must be the head of Mañjuśrī with a slightly irritated expression. The hands hold all the Tantra symbols (list given in the *tantra*). The right feet tread on animals, and the left on birds. In the bronzes Yamāntaka may be treading on demons, under which are animals and birds, or the reverse, or the demons may be supporting the throne as in the accompanying illustration (Pl. LII, fig. ā).

Yamāntaka has a skull diadem, a belt of heads, a third eye, and steps to the right. He may have five heads, and hold the skin of a human being over his shoulders. He is usually figured with his *śakti* (Pl. LII, fig. c).

As Yamāri, however, he is not represented with a *śakti*. In this form Yamāntaka holds a sceptre topped by a skull in his right hand and a *kapāla* in his left, and steps to the right on a corpse, under which is a bull.

¹ Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 100.

² *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie ii, p. 56.

³ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 1907.

⁴ Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 104.



a YAMĀNTAKA



b KUVERA (NARA-VĀHANA)



c. YAMĀNTAKA



d. YAMĀNTAKA

MINOR GODS

TABLE XV

- I. Lokapāla.
- II. The Five Kings.
- III. The Ni-ō (Ni-wō).
- IV. The Citipati.
- V. Nāgas and Garuḍas.

HISTORICAL PERSONAGES DEIFIED

TABLE XVI

- I. Arhat (Lohan, Rakhan).
- II. Nāgārjuna.
- III. Padmasambhava.
- IV. Tsoñ-k'a-pa.
- V. Mi-la-ras-pa.

THE FOUR LOKAPĀLA

(S.) *catur mahārāja*.

(M.) *mahārāja*.

(T.) *rgyal-c'en-bshi* (the four kings).

(C.) *Hu-shih-chê* (護世者).

THE Lokapāla, or guardians of the Four Cardinal Points, are believed to dwell on Mount Sumeru (Kailāsa) at the gates of the paradise of Śakra (Indra), who is looked upon as a protector of Buddhism.

The four Guardian Kings are mentioned in the earliest Buddhist writings as visiting Gautama while he was in the Tushita heaven waiting for the time to come for him to manifest himself on earth as Mānushi-Buddha. They are alluded to in the *Nidāna-Kathā* as having been present when Māyā's couch was carried to the place of incarnation of the Buddha. They assisted at his birth, and received the Buddha 'on the skin of a spotted tiger'. They held up the hoofs of the horse Kaṇṭhaka when Gautama secretly left his palace to go into the wilderness. After his fasting and meditation under the Bodhi-tree, they offered the Buddha four bowls of food, which he miraculously merged into one (*pātra*, v. Glossary). In fact, they assisted at every important event in the life of the Buddha, and were present at his *parinirvāṇa*.

Images of the Lokapāla were placed at the four sides of the Indian topes (*stūpa*) to guard the sacred relics. The earliest known statues are on the Sanchi Tope, which dates from between the second and first centuries B.C. The Buddhist Guardians were generally represented in full armour standing on Nāga demons,¹ while the mounts of the Brahman Lokapāla were elephants.² They became very popular deities in Tibet, China, and Japan, and were also taken up by the Southern Buddhists of the Hīnayāna school.

The four Indian Lokapāla are :

North : *Kuvera* (Vaiśravaṇa), King of the Yakshas (supernatural beings that bring disease). Symbols : *dhvaja* (banner) in right hand and mongoose in the left.

Colour : yellow.

South : *Virūdhaka*, King of the Khumbhaṇḍa (giant demons). Symbol : sword.

Colour : blue or green. Instead of the usual helmet, he wears the skin of an elephant's head.

East : *Dhṛitarāshṭra*, King of the Gandharvas (demons feeding on incense). Symbol : stringed instrument. Colour : white. He wears a high helmet on the top of which is a plume and from which hang ribbons and bows.

West : *Virūpāksha*, King of the Nāgas (serpent gods). Symbol : *chorten* (a small shrine), or a jewel and a serpent. Colour : red.

Of these four guardian kings, Vaiśravaṇa is the only god whose worship, singly,

¹ L. A. Waddell, 'Evolution of the Buddhist cult; its gods, images, and art', *The Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1912.

² In Japan the Lokapāla are usually represented treading on demons, but on Pl. iv, fig. a, they are supported by elephants.

PLATE LIII



a. BISHAMON



b. LOKAPĀLA



c. BISHAMON



d. FUDŌ

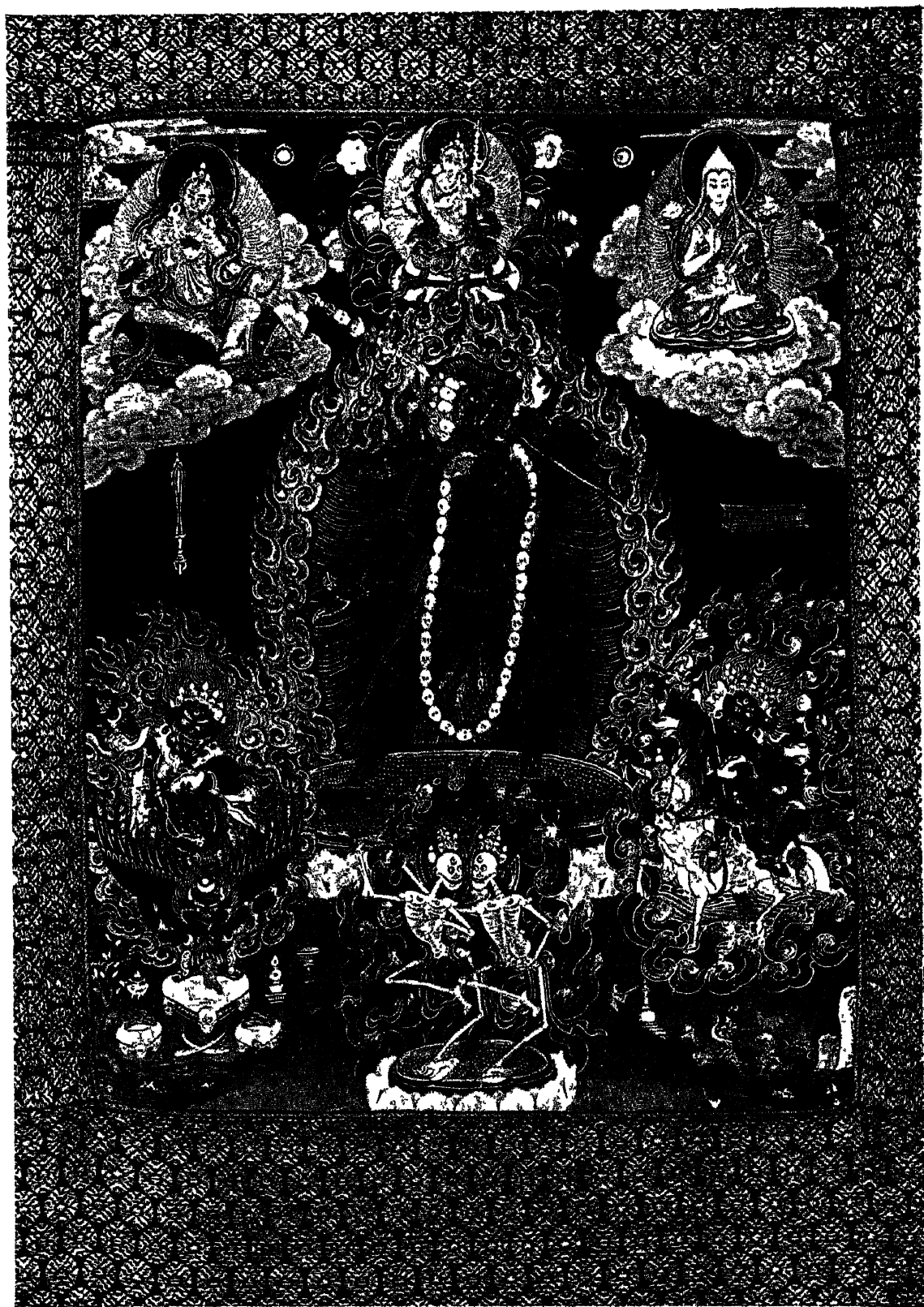
PLATE LIV



TO-WEN (BISHAMON)

PLATE LV

NA-RO-MK'HA-SPYOD-MA (ḌĀKINI)



became popular. As the Northern regions were believed to produce endless treasures, the guardian of the North was looked upon as god of Wealth.

In Japan he is worshipped under the name of *Bishamon*, and is represented in armour ornamented with the seven precious jewels, and is generally standing on one or two demons. In his left hand he holds either a small shrine or the flaming pearl, while in his right is a jewelled lance (Pl. LIII, figs. *a* and *c*).

The *mañi*, or jewel, on the top of his staff, is believed to signify 'completeness of fortune and virtue'. The small *caitya*,¹ or shrine, represents the Iron Tower in India where Nāgārjuna found the Buddhist scriptures. He is represented looking at the shrine, for, as one of the guardians of Buddhism, he must keep watch over its greatest treasures (Pl. LIV).

A bronze example of Bishamon (Chinese) belonging to Mr. Goloubew is, as far as the author knows, unique. It somewhat resembles the illustration on Pl. LIV, with the exception that instead of holding the hands in the traditional pose, they are in prayer *mudrā*, and the treasure, balanced on the fore-arms, is not a *stūpa* but an object resembling a temple banner when rolled.

There are many Chinese legends about the interventions of Vaiśravaṇa in battles in China, while in Japan he is believed to have revealed himself to Shōtoku Taishi during a battle, in the form of an old man. It is said that Shōtoku Taishi always wore on his helmet four small images of the Lokapāla. The Japanese Vaiśravaṇa is not, however, god of War, but the god of Good Fortune, and belongs to the group of Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Shichi-fuku-jin). With the exception of Benten he is the only god of the group worshipped to any extent singly.

Amoghavajra introduced the worship of the Celestial Guardians of the Four Quarters of the Heavens into China in the eighth century of our era, and one often sees them at the temple gates. The Chinese look upon them as symbolizing the four seasons.

North: *To-wen* (多聞) (Kuvera)—yellow (autumn: a black warrior). Symbols: right hand, a banner or lance; left hand, a pearl, or *stūpa* or mongoose, out of the mouth of which pour jewels (Pl. LIV).

South: *Tseng-chang* (增長)—blue (spring: red bird); may stand on a monkey and a demon. Symbol: sword.

East: *Ch'i-kuo* (持國)—white (summer: blue dragon). Symbol: stringed instrument.

West: *Kwang-mu* (廣目)—red (winter: white tiger); may also be green with red beard. Symbols: right hand, a *caitya*; left hand, a serpent.

In Chinese paintings the colours of the Four Guardians often vary, and they are sometimes all represented flesh colour. They may also have no symbols, with the exception of To-wen, who always holds the treasure.

In Yunnan the Four Guardians are represented on a pillar near Yunnan-fu, called Fan-tseu t'a, which dates from the tenth century. Vaiśravaṇa is figured as

¹ v. Glossary.

usual, holding the lance and shrine ; but the other ' Celestial Kings ' do not carry the traditional attributes, which find their earliest representations in China in the temple-grottoes of Lung-men (672-675 A.D.). Dhṛtarāṣṭra, instead of the stringed instrument, holds an arrow, while Virūḍhaka, who usually carries a sword, holds a bludgeon. Virūpakṣa, the only one of the Lokapāla with the mouth open, carries the sword of Virūḍhaka diagonally against his breast, the right hand holding the handle while the left supports the blade.¹

The Shi-tennō or Japanese Celestial Guardians of the Four Cardinal Points are : North : *Bishamon* (Kuvera).² Symbols : *caitya* (small shrine) and lance topped by a trident or flag.

South : *Kōmoku*,³ holding a scroll in one hand and a small baton in the other.

East : *Jikoku*, who carries a sword and a trident.

West : *Zōchō*, who may hold a drawn sword or a lance.

The Shi-tennō are always represented as warriors and, as a rule, are figured standing on demons, but the symbols, except in the case of Bishamon, may vary. In the illustrations of the *Butsuzō Zue*, the Lokapāla, also with the exception of Bishamon, are represented without symbols. Bishamon-ten figures in the group of twenty-eight deities attendant on the Bodhisattva Kwan-non.

In Chinese Turkestan representations of the Four Guardian Kings were found by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-Huang, on temple banners, and by Herr von Le Coq at Turfan, in frescoes, which are now at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Vaiśravaṇa was also represented alone in frescoes at the entrance to the temples opposite Hārītī (v. *Hārītī*). According to Waddell she is a form of his consort, Vasudhārā (v. *Kuvera*). In all the representations of the Lokapāla found in Chinese Turkestan they are elaborately dressed, usually in armour, holding their respective symbols, and also standing, as a rule, on crouching demons.

THE FIVE GREAT KINGS

(T.) *sku-nga* (or *Dam-can*) (five persons or bodies), or *gnas-c'un c'os-ye* (the guardians of [the oracle] Na-ch'ung). (M.) *tabun qaghan* (five emperors).

The Five Great Kings are objects of very active worship in Tibet, as they are believed to 'protect man efficaciously against evil spirits and enable him to attain the accomplishment of every wish'.

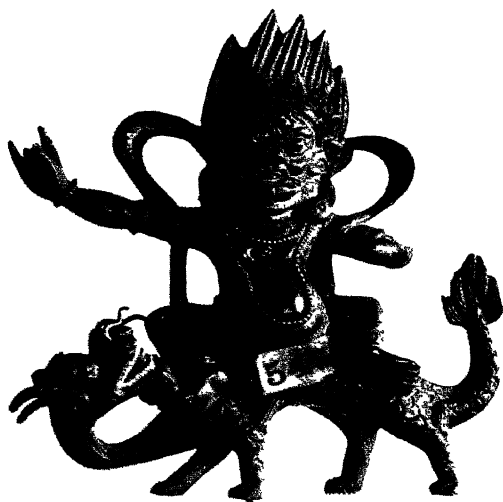
According to Waddell, these king-fiends, or spirits of demonified heroes, are supposed to have been originally five brothers who came from Northern Mongolia. They are said to have been 'kings'; of the East, mystically called 'the Body'; of the West 'Speech'; of the North, 'Deeds'; of the South, 'Learning'; and of the centre—

¹ Finot and Goloubew, *Le Fan-tseu t'a de Yun-nan-fou*, pp. 8, 9, 10.

² Pl. LIII, fig. c.

³ The writer, in accordance with Satow and

other authorities, has placed Kōmoku guardian of the South. In the *Himitsu-jirin* he is made guardian of the West, in which case, if correct, Zōchō would be guardian of the South.



a. WHITE JAMBHALA



b. WHITE JAMBHALA



c. RNAM-RAS (VAIŚRAVANA)



d. DAM-CHAN TOKCHOI

difficult to determine. They were necromancers and astrologers, and became oracles of different monasteries.

The oracle of Na-ch'ung¹ was brought to Tibet by Padmasambhava, and after being admitted to the Lamaist order was made state-oracle. He is believed to incarnate himself in every successive religious guardian of the monasteries, who is called after him, Choi-ge (C'os-rje).

The names of the Five Great Kings are the following²:

Bi-har, the special protector of monasteries, who rides on a red tiger.

Choi-chung, incarnate in the state-oracles, who rides on a yellow lion (Pl. LVI, fig. c).

Dahla is the tutelary god of warriors, and rides on a yellow horse.

Luwang, the god of the Nāgas, rides on a blue crocodile.

Tokchoi, rides on a yellow deer.³ In this form they accompany the thirty-five Buddhas of Confession.

According to Schlagintweit, when one of these gods is represented alone, he is accompanied by:

Damchan dorje legpa, on a camel.

Tsaṅgs-pa, on a ram.

Chebu damchan, on a goat.

According to Grünwedel, it is Dam-can rdor-legs who is on the goat and not on the camel.

Each of the Five Kings wears a broad-brimmed hat and long, flowing garments which, if painted, are red with a green border.

It is claimed that when Padmasambhava wished to build the convent of bSam-yas he forced the Five Kings to make a vow to protect it. For that reason they are called Dam-can, or 'he who has made a vow'.

According to certain accounts, the chief of the Kings is Pe-har or Pe-dkar, who is probably the 'Bi-har' quoted above. He has six arms and is white, seated on a white lion. He brandishes a sword, knife, and bow and arrow. The president of the Five Kings is said to be identical with the fourth guardian of the world, Dhṛitarāshtra, and is also claimed by others to be the president of the Four Lokapāla.

The second King is blue, on a white elephant. He has two arms, and holds a knife and lasso.

The third King is blue, on a blue lion. He holds a *vajra* and a *khakkhara* (alarm staff).

The fourth King is red on a blue mule, and holds an elephant-goad and a bludgeon.

The fifth King is green on a black horse, and holds an axe.

In the paintings of the Five Kings, Padmasambhava is usually represented above Pe-har, the chief of the Kings.

¹ Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 478.

² Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 157.

³ v. Pl. LVI, fig. d.

NI-Ō (Ni-wō)

The Japanese god, Ni-ō, guardian of the Buddhist scriptures, is believed to reside on the four peaks of Mount Sumeru, the centre of the universe, but will manifest himself whenever enshrined and worshipped with proper ceremonies.

Although his name *Ni-ō* literally means 'two kings', he is, in reality, one deity, but may be represented by any number of gods, even, according to the *Surāṅgamasa-mādhi sūtra*, as many as 'ten times the grains of sand of the river Ganges'. The Shōbōnenkyō call the deity Misshakukongō.

Ni-ō, however, is best known in his dual form of Misshaku and Kongō,¹ or the two guardians enshrined on either side of the gateway of Buddhist temples.

These 'two kings' probably find their origin in a Japanese legend, which runs to the effect that there was once a king whose first wife bore him a thousand sons, whom he wished to acquire perfect enlightenment. His second queen bore him two sons, one of whom desired to turn the Wheel of the Law for his thousand brothers, while the other vowed to protect the Law which his brother preached. The former was called Misshaku, and the latter Kongō.

The king Kongō is the Japanese Vajrapāṇi. He is represented at the right of the gateway of a Buddhist temple and holds a *vajra* (thunderbolt). The name 'Kongō' means *vajra*, or thunderbolt, with which the god is believed to destroy all evil.

The king Misshaku is enshrined at the left of the gateway, and is believed to propagate goodness.

The 'two Kings' are sometimes termed the Vidyārāja, and, as such, are called Rāga (Aizen) and Acala (Fudō), and are represented by the Maṇḍala of the Two Parts²: the Garbhakośadhātu and the Vajradhātu.

Rāga belongs to the Garbhadhātu (matrix section), or the material world of the five elements: earth, water, fire, air, and ether. He is represented by the sound 'a', and his statues have the mouth open.

Acala belongs to the Vajradhātu (diamond section), or spiritual world of one element: the mind. He is represented by the sound 'hūm', and his statues have the mouth closed.

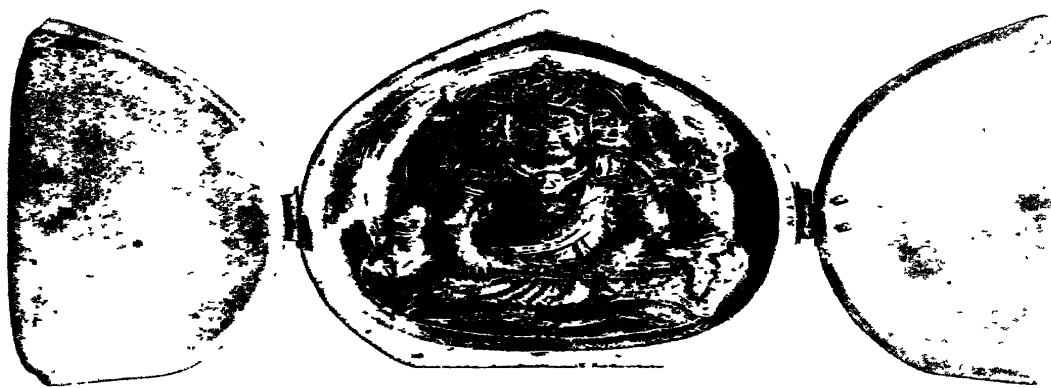
The deity Ni-ō is thus the union of the Spiritual with the Material, or the 'two Kings' in one. In other words, he is the dual form of Vairocana (Dai-nichi Nyorai).

¹ From the Myōkyōjōchinshō.

Name	Misshaku	Kongō
Manifestation	Rāga (Aizen)	Acala (Fudō)
Mouth	open	closed
Heaven	Garbha	Vajra
Germ	a	hūm

² v. *Vairocana*.

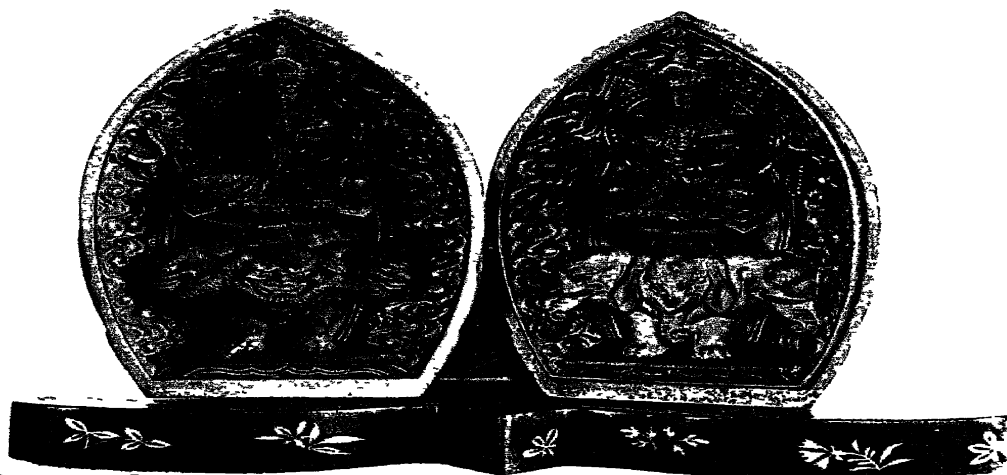
PLATE LVII



a. SAMVARA (?)



b. AIZEN-MYŌ-Ō



c. KWAN-NON ON A LION, KONGŌSATTA ON AN ELEPHANT



a. UGA-JIN



b. UGA-JIN (OFUDA)



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA

THE CITIPATI.

(T.) *dur-k'rod bdag-po* (the lord or master of the cemetery).

The Citipati are two skeletons, one of a man and the other of a woman, who are represented with arms and legs interlaced, dancing the Tsam dance on two corpses. Each brandishes a sceptre topped by a skull, and one holds a skull cup and the other a vase, or else they both carry the same symbol (Pl. LV). They are usually represented in the suite of Yama, but may also accompany the *ḍākinī*, Naro-mk'ha-spyod-na (Pl. LV).

In Pander's *Pantheon* (No. 258) they are represented each on a separate lotus-flower and not following the text.

According to a Northern Buddhist legend, the Citipati were, in a former existence, two ascetics who were once lost in such deep meditation that they did not notice that a thief had cut off their heads and thrown them in the dust. Since that time they have been ferocious enemies of the thief, and have vowed eternal vengeance. It somewhat resembles the legend of Yama.

NĀGAS AND GARUDAS.

The Nāgas, or serpent gods, are minor deities, but superior to man, and believed to be the protectors of the Law of Buddha. In fact, Buddhist legend claims that the sacred book, the *Prajñāpāramitā*, was put under the protection of the Nāgas by Gautama Buddha himself until such a time as the human race should have acquired sufficient knowledge to understand it. In the second century of our era, the sage Nāgārjuna claimed to have received from the Nāgas the *Prajñāpāramitā*, on which he founded the Mahāyāna School.

The seat of Nāga worship was in Kashmir, and spread south into India along the Indus. When Hsüan-tsang entered the valley in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. he found, in almost every place he visited, a shrine dedicated to a local Nāga. He relates that it was even believed that a member of the Śākya family (that of Gautama Buddha) had married the daughter of a serpent king, and he also tells of a Buddhist priest who was reborn as a serpent because he 'killed' the Elāpatra-tree.¹ In a Tibetan scroll² it is related, in regard to the Elāpatra Nāga, that he assumed the guise of a monarch in order to hear the Blessed One preach. The All-Knowing Buddha, perceiving him among his hearers, addressed him as follows: 'O, King of Snakes, during the ministry of Buddha Kāśyapa you violated the rules of moral conduct, for which you were condemned to be born a snake. Have you now come here, assuming a false appearance, like a hypocrite, while I am preaching? Assume your own shape and listen to my sermons, if your nature permits you to do so!' Next day

¹ For legend v. *Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, vol. ii, Part I, 1894, p. 3.

² Translated by Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907.

there appeared in the audience a huge serpent on whose head was grown an Elāpatra-tree. His body measured many miles, for while his head came to hear Buddha's sermon in Rājāgrha, his tail lay in Taxila.

In Japan there is a legend in regard to a priest who was reborn as a fish, out of whose head grew a huge tree.¹ It is probably a version of the Elāpatra Nāga legend.

The Nāgas play an important role in the legend of Gautama Buddha.² They assisted at his birth and gave him his first bath (Pl. VII). They came to hear him preach and became his disciples. It is recounted that once when Buddha remained in a state of *samādhi* (form of deepest meditation) for seven days, under a tree near a pond, the blind Nāga that lay in the pool was restored to vision by the light that shone from the Buddha's body, and became his disciple. When Māra, god of Evil, unchained the fury of the elements to disturb Buddha's meditation, Mucilinda, a serpent king, wound his coils about him and spread his hood over the Tathāgata's head to protect him during his *samādhi* (Pl. LVII, fig. c).

The serpent, from the annual renewal of its skin, is a symbol of immortality, and when represented with its tail in its mouth, forming a circle, symbolizes the Yoga principle of Union, or the Circle of Regeneration. The Nāgarāja Mucilinda, who wound his coils around the body of the Buddha to protect him from the temptations of the god of Evil, typifies the impenetrable armour which the Tathāgata fashions for himself by the observance of the ten Pāramitās. The Nāga god protecting Śākyamuni may be represented with five, seven, or many heads, the last form being purely Indian (Pl. LVIII, fig. d). The nimbus of Amoghasiddhi in Nepal is represented surrounded by Nāgas, and that of Nāgārjuna has seven over-hanging serpents.

In Kashmir serpent-worship existed as early as the fifth century B. C. In Ceylon the serpent-worshippers were converted to Buddhism in the third century B. C., but the worship has now practically disappeared, while in India the Nāga god is still revered, especially in the South.

The Indian representations of the Nāga gods from the third century B. C. to the twelfth A. D. were of human form, with, behind the head, a spread cobra's hood having three, five, or seven heads. After the twelfth century, the Nāgas were represented with the body ending in a serpent's tail. When the cobra-hood had only three or five heads, the tail was spotted; if seven or nine heads, the serpent was represented covered with scales. The more modern representations are merely that of a cobra capella with the hood spread.

The Chinese used the snake symbol much less than that of the dragon, although the Nāga god was worshipped in China from the earliest times. Fergusson³ mentions that 'two heaven-sent serpents watched over the first washing of Confucius'.

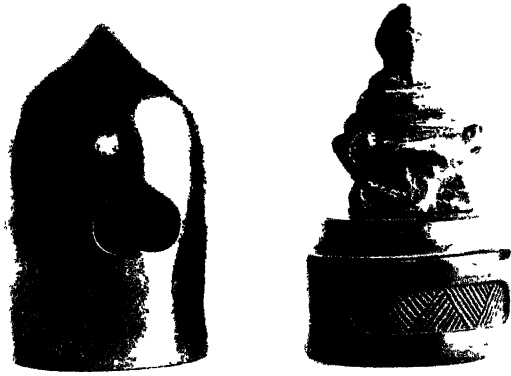
In Japan the serpent has been worshipped from prehistoric times, and many Nāga shrines may still be found throughout Japan. At Kamakura there is a temple

¹ For legend see the *Open Court* for June, 1911.

² Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*.

³ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and v. de Visser *The Dragon in China and Japan*.

PLATE LIX



a. UGA-JIN



b. GARUḬA



c. NĀGARĀJA

PLATE LX



a. MI-LA-RAS-PA



b. MAN-LA



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



d. MAITREYA BUDDHA

dedicated to a local Nāga, called Uga-jin, who is represented coiled in spiral shape with the head of a bearded man and the image believed to have been carved by Kōbō Daishi.¹ It is worshipped as the goddess Benten by the common people, but is probably a relic of serpent (or phallic) worship. The goddess Benten (Benzai-ten), one of the seven gods of Good Luck, is usually represented riding on a snake (or a dragon). As she is a very popular divinity, it may be that the serpent has become identified with her as an object of adoration. Her shrines, as related above, are generally on islands, and always near a river, lake, or the sea. When the snake is white, it is believed to be a special manifestation of the Indian goddess Sarasvatī.

On Pl. LVIII, fig. *a*, there is a small household shrine of a Nāga god in wood with a human head, and on Pl. LIX, fig. *a*, there is one in bronze showing the cover, for they are always worshipped in secret. In both cases, the heads resemble that of Uga-jin referred to above.

According to Hindu mythology, the Nāgas were in constant terror of the Garuḍas, or fabulous golden-winged birds, and especially of their king. This gigantic bird would fly up into a huge tree called Kūṭasālmali, which is at the north of the Great Ocean, and flapping his wings to divide the waters, swoop down upon the serpent gods, pick them up with his beak, and eat them. In their distress the Nāgas that had been converted to Buddhism appealed to the Buddha to protect them against their mortal enemies, and he appointed the god Vajrapāṇi their special protector. The Tathāgata then gave them his monastic garment, which was divided into infinitesimal pieces and distributed among them. No Nāga, with this inviolable talisman, could be harmed by a Garuḍa. Vajrapāṇi, as related above, in order to combat these formidable birds, assumed the shape of a Garuḍa.

One of Garuḍa's most formidable enemies is Nanda, the Nāgarāja, king of the serpents. He is represented in human form as far as the waist, and the rest of the body as a serpent. He may have one head, with a serpent crown, and two hands holding a serpent; or have four heads and six arms, two of the hands of which are drawing a bow (Pl. LIX, fig. *c*).

The Nāgas were not considered malignant gods, but, on the contrary, were kindly disposed towards mankind. They were believed to control the rain-clouds, and, when properly propitiated,² would protect from lightning, bring beneficial showers, or stop too abundant rains.

The king of the Nāgas is Virūpaksha, one of the four Lokapāla, or Celestial Guardians of the Four Cardinal Points. His kingdom is the continent west of Mount Meru, which was supposed to be the centre of the universe; but the chief residence of the Nāgas is Bhogavatī, 3,000 *yoganas* under the sea.

¹ v. Pl. LVIII, fig. *b*, temple drawing (*ofuda*) of the image. On the tip of its tail is balanced a *cintāmaṇi*, in the form of a flaming pearl. In the Nepalese MS. Add. 864, in the University Library, Cambridge, the four-headed Nāga, on the coils of

which the Buddha is seated, has also the *cintāmaṇi* on the tip of its tail.

² For descriptions of the ceremony of the Nāga sādhana, v. S. Levi, *Le Népal*, vol. i, p. 323.

ARHAT¹ (or Arhān, or Sthavira).(T.) *gnas-brtan* (pro. *netan*), or *netan cudug* (the sixteen sthavira).(M.) *dain-i darughsan* (the vanquisher of enemies), or *batu-aqči* (steady, constant, or firm).(C.) *Lo-han*.(J.) *Rakan*.

An Arhat is one who has reached the end of the Eight-Fold Path, and is not only perfect himself, but can give perfection to others. Gautama Buddha, before making the Great Vow of the Bodhisattva, was, in one of his incarnations, the Arhat Sumedha.

In the Buddhist temples of Tibet, China, Japan, and Corea, along the east and west walls of the principal hall, are rows of figures usually seated. These are the Arhats, disciples of the Buddha, patrons and guardians of Buddhism, and may be either five hundred in number or in a group of sixteen. In China, however, as well as often in Tibet, one finds a group of eighteen Arhats. The reason for the addition of two Arhats to the traditional group of sixteen is not clear, for, according to Watters,² in the ancient Chinese literature there is only question of sixteen Lo-han.

Besides these two groups of Arhats there are the four 'great Bhikshu' to whom the Buddha entrusted the propagation of Buddhism after his death. They are Mahākāśyapa, Piṇḍola, Kuntēs-pan-t'an, and Rāhula. These men were to 'remain in existence and not experience Nirvāṇa until the advent of Maitreya as Buddha'. Two of these, Piṇḍola and Rāhula, are among the eighteen Lo-han.

The fifth Arhat is called Nakula in China, and is represented like Jambala with a mongoose under his arm (v. *Kuvera*). Some of the names of the Arhats vary in the different countries.

NĀGĀRJUNA

(T.) *klu-sgrub* (the serpent saint).(M.) *naganjuna baksi* (*Nāgārjuna*, the teacher).(C.) *Lung-su-tzu-si*.(J.) *Ryūju* (龍樹).Mudrā: *dharmacakra* (teaching).

Nāgārjuna is usually called the 'founder' of the Mahāyāna system; but it is claimed by some that he was only its principal expounder. The Japanese look upon Aśvaghosha, the probable master of Nāgārjuna, as the founder of the doctrine of the Great Vehicle. Others, still, believe that Nāgārjuna founded the Mādhyamika school and was the first to teach the Amitābha doctrine. It is thought that he lived in the end of the second century A.D., but the exact dates of his birth and death are still unknown.³

¹ *Arhat*, lit. 'fit', 'worthy'.² *The Eighteen Lohan of the Chinese Buddhist Temples*. Watters.³ A. D. 150–200, according to Paul Pelliot, are the probable dates. There are those, also, who look upon Aśvaghosha as purely mythical.

PLATE LXI

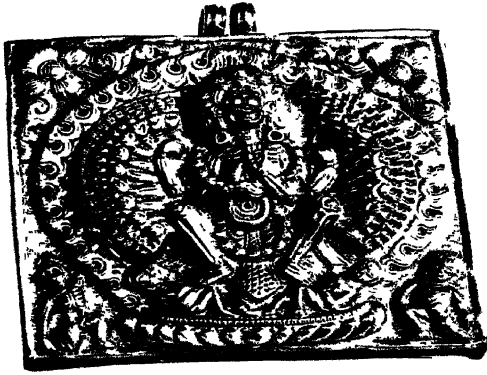
a. GRAHAMĀTRKĀ

b. VASUDHĀRĀ

TWO LEAVES FROM A NEPALESE BOOK



PLATE LXII



a. CITIPATI



b. DHARMAPĀLA



c. SKULL-CUP



d. DAI-NICHI NYORAI (VAIROCANA)

He was born in Southern India, and his parents were of the Brahman caste. At his birth, according to an old Tibetan legend, it was predicted that he would only live seven days. In consideration of the acts of merit performed by his parents, the gods delayed his death until seven weeks, and then to seven months, and finally to seven years. Before the seven years were up, he was sent to the convent of Nalanda, where he learned to adore Amitāyus, god of Long Life, and succeeded in so propitiating the god that he is said to have lived three hundred years on earth, ending his life only by cutting off his own head.

Nāgārjuna was the greatest Buddhist philosopher and mastered all the sciences, and especially magic art. He is said to have acquired Siddhi, by which magic power he obtained the 'rainbow' body (*jahlus*), and was thus able to become invisible at will and transport himself from one place to another by supernatural power.

The Chinese Buddhists claim that Nāgārjuna was the fourteenth of the twenty-seven Patriarchs that propagated the Buddhist faith, beginning with the senior disciple of the Buddha, Kāśyapa, and ending with Bodhidharma, who carried Buddhism into China in the sixth century A. D.

According to the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists, he was the third of the eight Patriarchs of the Yogācārya school, beginning with Vairocana and ending with the Japanese priest Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi). According to the Buddhist texts, Śākya-muni predicted the rebirth of his disciple Ananda under the name of 'Nāgārjuna', founder of the Mahāyāna system. Nāgārjuna is believed by the Shin-gon sect to have received the secret Yoga doctrine directly from the second Patriarch, Vajrasattva, whom he visited in his Iron Tower in Southern India.

Other Mahāyāna Buddhists (the Amitābha sects), however, claim that he received the treatise on which he expounded and developed the Mahāyāna school from the serpent gods, the Nāgas; and that the Nāga king himself revealed to Nāgārjuna the holy texts in the Dragon palace under the sea. They further claim that Gautama Buddha had given this treatise, the *Prajñāpāramitā*, to the Nāgas to guard until such a time as the world should become sufficiently enlightened to understand its transcendent wisdom; and that the Nāgas, after converting Nāgārjuna to Buddhism, handed over to him their precious treasure.¹

In the representations of Nāgārjuna, who was deified and enrolled among the Northern Buddhist divinities, he has an aureole on which are seven snakes.² If painted, the middle one is yellow and the others grey. He is represented like a Buddha with the *ushnīsha*, *ūrṇā*, and long-lobed ears, and wears the monastic garments. He has no symbols, and his hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*. If painted, he is white.

¹ In Japan, in the tenth century, the *Vajra Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* was read, even in the Shintō temples, to bring rain. v. de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 166.

² Pander, *Pantheon*, p. 49, fig. 5.

PADMASAMBHAVA

(Lotus-born).

(T.) *pad-ma hbyun-gnas* (lotus-born), or
u-rgyan-pa (the man from Urgyan).
 (M.) *padmasambhava*.

Symbols: *khaṭvāṅga* (magic stick).
vajra (thunderbolt).
pātra (begging-bowl).

In the middle of the eighth century A. D. the Tibetan king Thi-Sron Detsan sent to India inviting the learned *guru* Padmasambhava to come to Tibet.¹ Padmasambhava was renowned for his knowledge of *dhāraṇī* (mystical sentences) and of their efficacious application, and was warmly welcomed. He remained fifty years in the country, founding monasteries and teaching the Tantra-Yogācārya doctrine. He is said to have subdued all the malignant gods in Tibet, sparing only those that became converted to Buddhism and that promised to be defenders (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. Padmasambhava, in his turn, promised to enroll them in the Mahāyāna Pantheon and to see that they were properly worshipped. He claimed to have received from the *ḍākinī* the books from which he acquired his miraculous powers.

At the end of fifty years Padmasambhava disappeared miraculously, and is said to have entered the body of a Yaksha king, Me-wal, where he has reigned supreme 'over all the Yakshas up till the present day, and in perpetual youth is preaching the doctrine of Lamaism in a paradise which rivals that of Amitābha's western heaven of Sukhāvati'.²

Padmasambhava was deified and is still worshipped by the Northern Buddhists of Tibet. He is represented seated on a lotus *āsana* with the legs locked, the right hand holding the *vajra*, and the left, lying in his lap, the *pātra*. He holds his special symbol, the *khaṭvāṅga* (which he is believed to have invented), pressed against his breast with the left arm. The *vajra* was also made popular in Tibet by Padmasambhava, who used it in casting spells and exorcising devils.

His garment is flowing, and, if painted, is red, as well as his peaked cap, which sometimes ends in a half *vajra*. The lappets over the ears are divided and turned back, thus resembling a lotus-flower, for Padmasambhava is believed to have been born from a red lotus-flower.

Besides the bronzes, one often finds Padmasambhava represented in the temple paintings of the Dharmapāla. He is probably put in their company because he subdued them, and also because, according to the Mahāyāna traditions, there must always be one pacific deity among the ferocious gods. He is always placed at the top of the picture above them, and is sometimes accompanied by two disciples.

In China and Japan his worship is practically unknown.

¹ Grünwedel, *Padmasambhava und Verwandtes*.

² Waddell, *Lamaism*.

PLATE LXIII



a. VAIROCANA



b. PADMAPĀNI



c. AMITĀBHA



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA



e. TĀRĀ



f. MAHĀKĀLA



g. MAÑJUŚRĪ

Typus Puſſe ſeu Cybelis aut Ifidis Sinenſium.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

月

月

Characteres Sacri, quos Sinaeſa Brachy manib, acceperunt, iſq;
 magna ſua Deaſtra attributa exprimunt.



TS'ON-K'A-PA

(lit. 'Man from Ts'ön-k'a').

(S.) *Sumatikārti*.Mudrā: *dharmacakra*.(T.) *blo-bzan grags-pa* (pro. *lobsan dagha*).Symbols: *khaḍga* (sword).(M.) *jonqaba*.*pustaka* (book).

Ts'ön-k'a-pa was born in Tibet, in the valley of Ts'ön-k'a, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and it is said that the tree which overshadowed the house in which he was born has the imprint of a Buddha on its leaves.

Ts'ön-k'a-pa, the Northern Buddhist reformer, founded the Ge-lug-pa sect, which he called the 'virtuous'. In spite of the severity of its rules and the practice of celibacy which it enforced, the dGe-lugs-pa sect became very popular, quickly spreading over Tibet, and has remained the most important sect up to the present day.

They were called 'yellow bonnets' from the pointed yellow caps¹ which they wore in opposition to the 'red bonnets' (dKar-hGya-pa), a sect founded over three centuries before, which allowed the priests marriage, besides many other liberties, and permitted the practice of sorcery.

Ts'ön-k'a-pa, at his death, put the church under the protection of the god of Death, Yama (some say under Yamāntaka), and repaired to the Tushita heaven, where he is believed to be sitting beside the future Buddha, Maitreya. He was canonized as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, and enrolled in the Northern Buddhist Pantheon.

Ts'ön-k'a-pa is represented seated on either a *kholbok* or a lotus. He wears the yellow pointed cap with the long ear-lappets, and his hands are in *dharmacakra mudrā*, holding the stems of lotus-flowers, which support, at each shoulder, the sword and book (Mañjuśrī's symbols). His garment, if painted, is red.

He is generally represented in temple pictures with two of his disciples, while below is sometimes Yamāntaka.

MI-LA-RAS-PA

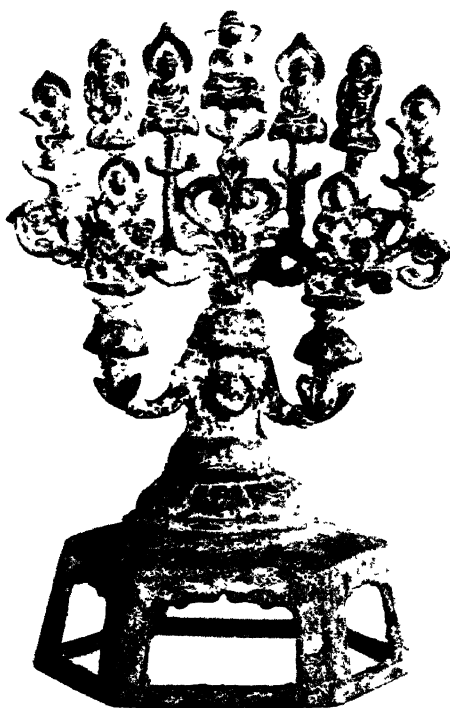
(T.) *grub-pai dban-p'yug Mi-la* (the mighty saint, Mi-la).

Mi-la-ras-pa, mendicant monk and poet, lived in the beginning of the twelfth century A. D., and spent his life wandering through Tibet performing miracles, converting the nomadic people to Buddhism, and writing his 100,000 songs, which have never, as yet, been translated into English.²

He was deified and enrolled in the Northern Buddhist Pantheon, but does not figure in the Pantheon of the *Tschantscha Hutuktu*.

Mi-la-ras-pa is represented in the bronzes seated on a gazelle-skin on a lotus *āsana*. He has short, curly hair, the *ūrṇā*, is dressed in monastic garments, and always holds his right hand with the fingers extended and the palm turned outwards behind his right ear, as if he were listening to the 'echoes of nature', to use his own words. His left hand holds a begging-bowl (Pl. LX, fig. a).

¹ v. Pl. LV.see Bacot, *Milarépa*, and Laufer, *Aus den Geschichten und Liedern des Milaraspa*.² There is a fragment translated into French, Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme*, p. 62, and



a. THE SEVEN BUDDHAS



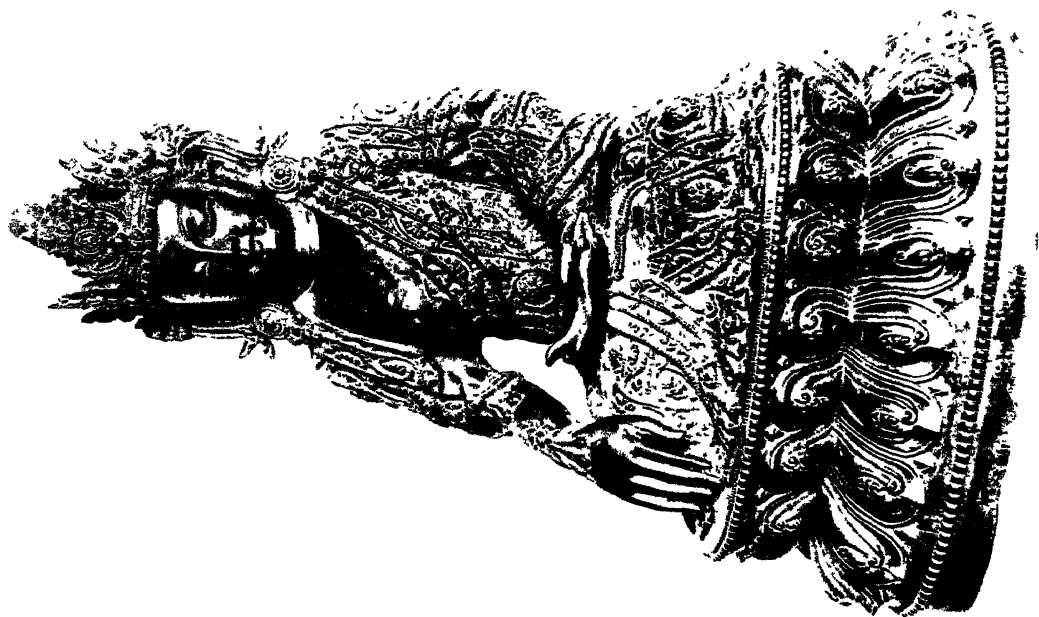
b. THE BUDDHA AND ATTENDANTS



c. GAUTAMA BUDDHA AND THE SEVEN PRECEDING
BUDDHAS



MAITREYA BUDDHA



'CROWNED' BUDDHA (?)

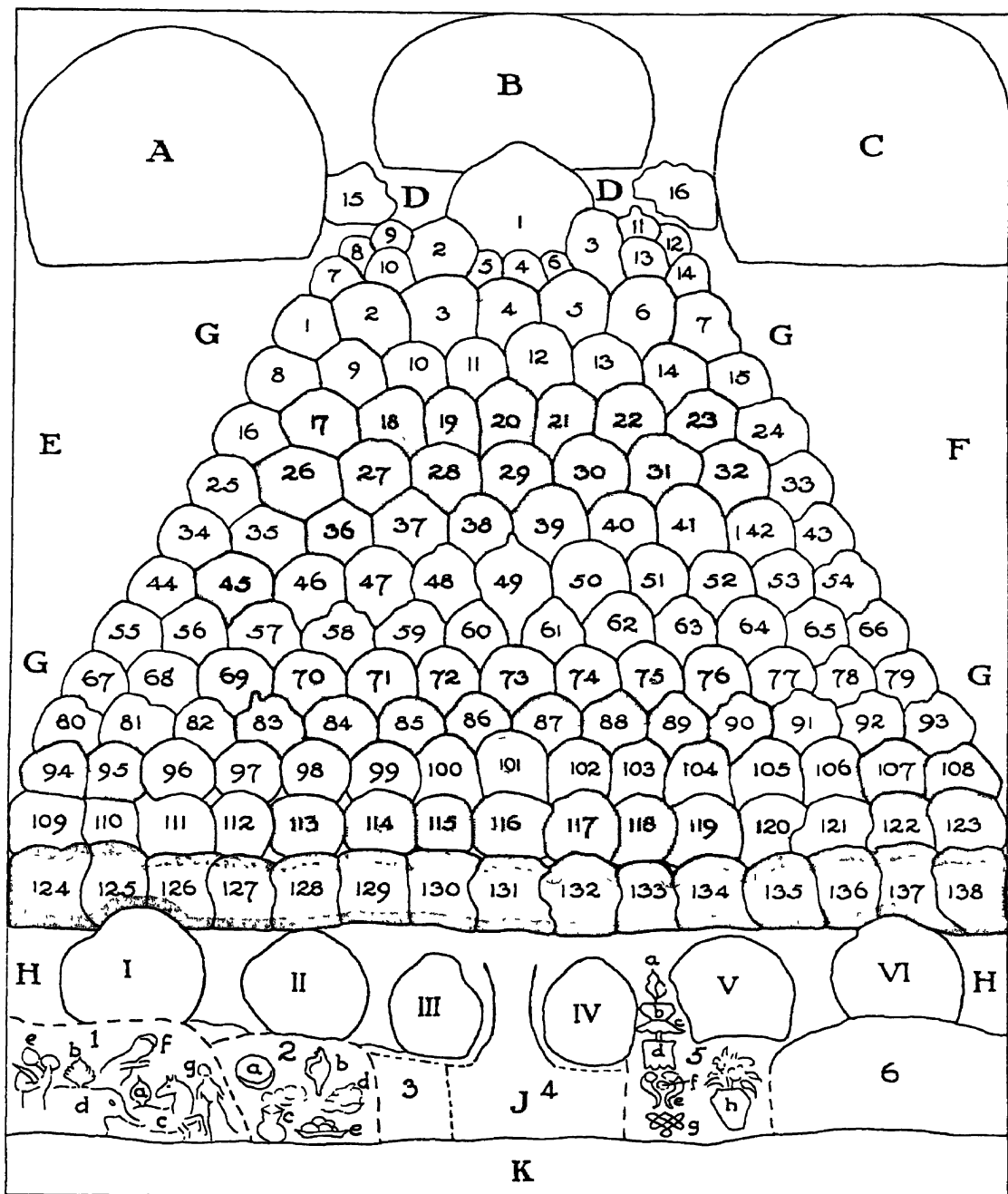
TS'OGS-ŠIN (TSOK-SHIN)

NEPALESE PAINTING OFFERED TO A TEMPLE IN 1809.¹

- A. Left medallion: two Bodhisattva and 42 lamas or saints.
- B. Central medallion: two Divinities and 22 lamas or saints.
- C. Right medallion: two Bodhisattva (Mañjuśrī and ?) with 42 lamas or saints.
- D. The summit of the Pyramid.
 - 1. Śākya-muni.
 - 2. Śariputra.
 - 3. Maudgalyāyana.
 - 4. Atiśa.
 - 5. Ts'ön-k'a-pa.
 - 6. Nāgārjuna.
 - 7-17. Saints and lamas.
- E-F. Space on the right and left of the Pyramid: flying deities, praying monks, &c.
- G. The Pyramid.
 - 1. Vajravarāhī (T. Rdo-rje-p'ag-mo), incarnation of an abbess of Central Tibet (see No. 7) (red).
 - 2. Hevajra.
 - 3. Yamāntaka (P. 61).
 - 4. Sangdri (T. Gsañ-ba ḥdus-pa) (P. 62).
 - 5. Saṃvara.
 - 6. Combination of Mahāmāyā (P. 67) and Buddha Kapāla (P. 69) (blue).
 - 7. Vajravarāhī? (see No. 1) (red).
 - 8. Kurukullā (T. Rig-byed-mo) (red).
 - 9. Simhavaktrā (T. Señ-gdoñ-ma Ḍākīṇī) (G. p. 174).
 - 10. Mahāśakra Vajrapāṇi (G. p. 161) (black).
 - 11. The red Yamari (T. Gśed-dmar) (G. p. 123).
 - 12. Kālacakra (T. Dus-ḥk'or) (P. 65) (blue).
 - 13. The black Yamari (dark blue).
 - 14. Hayagrīva with three heads (T. Rta-mgrin).
 - 15. First Tathāgata or Buddha (?) with a jewel (yellow).
 - 16. Second Tathāgata or Buddha (?), the hands turned in the same direction.
 - 17. Uśnīśasita (P. 162).
 - 18. A Bodhisattva (?).
 - 19. Vajrapāṇi.
 - 20. Mañjughośa (?) (G. p. 99).
 - 21. Vajrapāṇi.
 - 22. A Bodhisattva (?).
 - 23. Sarasvatī (P. 157).
 - 24. Third Tathāgata (black).
 - 25. Fourth Tathāgata (T. Rgyal-ba Gyul-las) (P. 127) (black).
 - 26. Parnaśavari, Śakti de Mañjughośa (P. 165) (red).
 - 27. Acala (black).
 - 28. A Bodhisattva with four arms (undeterminable, being erased).
 - 29. The white Mañjughośa (erased).
 - 30. Kun-rig (P. 76).
 - 31. Acala (black).
 - 32. The white Tārā.
 - 33. Fifth Tathāgata (colour of cinnamon).
 - 34. Sixth Tathāgata (T. Rgyal-ba Dpañ-poḥi) (?) (black).
 - 35. Seventh Tathāgata (red).
 - 36. The green Tārā.
 - 37. Vajrapāṇi (simple form) (black).
 - 38. Bodhisattva or White Tārā?
 - 39. A Bodhisattva (colour of cinnamon).
 - 40. Mila-ras-pa?
 - 41. Jambhala nag-po (P. 267?) (black).
 - 42. Eighth Tathāgata (T. Rgyal-ba mts'on-dpal) (P. 124).
 - 43. Ninth Tathāgata (T. Rgyal-ba Śin-tu-rnam-par) (P. 126).
 - 44. Tenth Tathāgata (yellow).
 - 45. Uśnīśavijayā (T. Rnam-par) (P. 164) (white).
 - 46. Amitāyus (T. Tse-dpag-med) (P. 85).

¹ The indications in parentheses signify the corresponding figures in Pander's *Pantheon*, e. g. (P. 61), or the pages of Grünwedel's *Buddhism in Tibet*, where the figures are to be found, e. g. (G. p. 166). The images of this book are indicated by the roman numbers of plates, e. g. xii.

47. Akśobhya (without Śakti) (dark green).
48. Ratnasambhava (colour of cinnamon).
49. Avalokiteśvara.
50. Samantabhadra [after the explicative list of the lama] (P. 152) (dark blue).
51. Sman-bla (P. 142) (dark).
52. Viśvapāṇi (Dhyani-Bodhisattva of Amoghāsidi?).
- 53-61. Eleventh to nineteenth Tathāgata.
62. Twentieth Tathāgata (T. Klu-dbañ-gi) (P. 100) (white).
- 63-68. Twenty-first to twenty-sixth Tathāgata.
69. First Bodhisattva: Sarvanīvaraṇaviśkambhī? (green).
70. Second Bodhisattva: Kṣitigarbha (yellow).
71. Third Bodhisattva: Mañjuśrī? (yellow).
72. Fourth Bodhisattva: Vajrapāṇi? (yellow).
73. Fifth Bodhisattva: Ākāśagarbha (yellow-brown).
74. Sixth Bodhisattva: Avalokiteśvara (white).
75. Seventh Bodhisattva: Samantabhadra? (yellow).
76. Eighth Bodhisattva: Maitreya (yellow).
- 77-82. Twenty-seventh to thirty-second Tathāgata.
- 83-90. The eight acolytes of Sman-bla (P. 136-441, 142, 143).
- 91-95. Thirty-third to thirty-seventh Tathāgata.
96. First Sthavira: Rdo-rje mo-hi (P. 197).
97. Second Sthavira: Nags-na (P. 195).
98. Third Sthavira: Dus-ldan (P. 196).
99. Fourth Sthavira: Ma-p'am-pa (P. 194).
100. Fifth Sthavira: Yan-lag-hbyuñ (P. 193).
101. Śākya Muni or Sman-bla?
102. Sixth Sthavira: Bakula (P. 201).
103. Seventh Sthavira: Sgra-gcan-hḍsin (P. 202).
104. Eighth Sthavira: Bhara-dvadsa (P. 204).
105. Ninth Sthavira: Lam-p'ran-bstan (P. 203).
106. Tenth Sthavira: Sbed-byed (P. 207).
107. (?)
108. (?)
109. Eleventh Sthavira: Hva-śang (Chin. Hwa-chang) (P. 210).
110. Twelfth Sthavira: Bha-ra-dva-dsa gser-cen (P. 200).
111. Thirteenth Sthavira: Gser-behu (P. 199).
112. Fourteenth Sthavira: Bsañ-po? (without his book) (P. 198).
113. Vajraḍākinī (P. 224?).
114. Padmaḍākinī (P. 227).
115. Ḍākinī?
116. Buddhaḍākinī? (P. 223).
117. Ratnaḍākinī (P. 225).
118. Karmaḍākinī (P. 226).
119. Viśvaḍākinī (P. 228).
120. Fifteenth Sthavira: Lam-bstan (P. 205).
121. Sixteenth Sthavira: Klu-hi-sde (P. 206).
122. Seventeenth Sthavira: Mi-pyed (P. 208).
123. Eighteenth Sthavira: Dharma-tala (P. 209).
124. First Dharmapāla: Vajrapāṇi with Garuḍa wings (P. 184-186) (blue).
125. Second Dharmapāla: Acala (T. Mi-gyo-ba) (typical form dark blue).
126. Third Dharmapāla: Mgyon-po p'yag-bji (P. 243) or Ye-ces (G. p. 177) (black).
127. Fourth Dharmapāla: Kubera (P. 263) (brownish-yellow).
128. Fifth Dharmapāla: Yama gsañ (P. 240) (red).
129. Sixth Dharmapāla: Yama snañ (blue).
130. Seventh Dharmapāla: Yama Pyi (without her sister) (P. 239) (blue).
131. Eighth Dharmapāla: Blue Mahākāla (T. Mgon-po) (P. 230).
132. Ninth Dharmapāla: White Mahākāla (T. Mgon-dkar) (P. 229).
133. Tenth Dharmapāla: Gur-gyi mgon-po? (protector of the tent) (P. 242).
134. Eleventh Dharmapāla: Brag-ca (P. 260).
135. Twelfth Dharmapāla: Lha-mo sol-ma (P. 245).
136. Thirteenth Dharmapāla: Beg-tse (P. 254).
137. Fourteenth Dharmapāla: Lha-mo tsan-dika (P. 244).
138. Fifteenth Dharmapāla: Lha-mo skyoñs-ma (P. 246) or Ma-cig-pal (P. 256).



- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Yī-dam | Bodhisattva or feminine divinities? | 8 Acolytes of Sman-bla and 4 of their assistants |
| Principal Dākinī | Buddha | 18 Śhāviza |
| Feminine divinities | Tathāgata | 7 Secondary Dākinī |
| Bodhisattva | Bodhisattva (s) | Dharmapala |
| Sman-bla or Śākya Muni? | | |

H. Zone of the Guardians of the temple (Loka-pāla), &c.

- I. The guardian of the North (P. 280).
- II. The guardian of the East (284).
- III. Brahma offering a cakra (P. 278 ?).
- IV. Dbañ-po-śi offering a jewel (P. 156).
- V. The guardian of the West (P. 282).
- VI. The guardian of the South (P. 281).

J. The lowest space.

1. The 'seven jewels': *a.* the wheel, *b.* the jewel, *c.* the horse, *d.* the elephant, *e.* a military chief, *f.* a civil dignitary, *g.* a wife.

2. The five senses: *a.* sight (mirror), *b.* hearing (conch), *c.* smell (vase for perfume), *d.* touch (silk), *e.* taste (fruits).

3. A Stūpa.

4. A rock or tree-stock; at its base a flaming pearl on two balls, and under which there are playing musicians; on every side of the rock, a Nāga.

5. The 'eight emblems': *a.* conch, *b.* bumba, *c.* umbrella, *d.* standard, *e.* fishes, *f.* wheel, *g.* diagram, *h.* flowers.

6. A monk offering a sort of pyramidal cake; before him, the musicians.

K. Inscription (Langsha characters).

EXPLANATIONS OF THE SANSKRIT (S.), TIBETAN (T.), CHINESE (C.), MONGOLIAN (M.), AND JAPANESE (J.) WORDS USED IN THE TEXT

Abhaya (S.) *Mudrā* of Protection ('Blessing of Fearlessness')—the gesture of the right hand of the Buddha in the episode of the wild elephant, v. M. Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 406. The arm is elevated and slightly bent. The hand is lifted, with the palm turned outward, and all the fingers are extended upward. If the second finger is slightly bent, it indicates the Shin-gon sect. *Mudrā* of the Dipaṅkara Buddha and of Amoghasiddhi. (Pl. VI, fig. c.)

Ākāśa (S.) Ether or void. According to Hodgson, *ākāśa* is 'established, governed, perfected by its own nature. All things are absorbed into it; it is uncreated or eternal; it is revealed by its own force; it is the essence of creation, preservation, and destruction; it is the essence of the five elements; it is intellectual essence . . . for infinite things are absorbed into it. The five colours are proper to it as well as the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. From Vairocana, proceeded *ākāśa*.'

Ālīḍha (S.) Attitude of drawing the bow. Attitude of Kurukullā.

Amṛita (S.) Nectar of Life, called by the Chinese 'sweet dew'. v. *Vajrapāṇi* and *kalāśa*.

Añjali (S.) *Mudrā* of Salutation. The arms are stretched upward, and both of the palms are turned upward with all the fingers extended. Attitude of Avalokiteśvara (Tantra form) when holding a small image of Amitābha. (v. A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie I, p. 69.)

Aṅkuśa (S.) Elephant goad.

Asana (S.) 1. Support of a god, or group of gods.

All of the Northern Buddhist divinities are represented either seated or standing on lotus supports (*padmāsana*), with but few exceptions. In Tibet and Nepal the lotus support is usually represented with two rows of petals, of which the outer row is turned down, while the inner row stands upright, thus representing an *utpala* (blue lotus); but there may be more than two rows, and there are also examples, in Tibet, where all the petals stand upright, which is the usual form in Japan. In the temple paintings and frescoes from Central Asia, Kṣhitigarbha is sometimes represented (as well as the Dipaṅkara Buddha) standing with a small lotus-flower under each foot.

According to the Buddhist tradition, the Buddhas, when 'turning the Wheel of the Law', should be represented seated on a lion support (*siṃhāsana*). Mañjuśrī may be seated on a throne supported by lions, instead of on a roaring lion. In the Chinese cave-temples of Yun-Kang and Long-men, Maitreya is seated on a lion-throne, European fashion, with the feet crossed. Yamāntaka's throne may be supported by demons. Kuvera is sometimes seated on a *kolboka*, or *āsana* made of cushions.

The *vajrāsana* is the diamond throne on which the Buddha sat when meditating under the *bodhi*-tree, and the fact is indicated by a *vajra* lying before him on the lotus-throne. Instead of the *vajra*, there may be a *svastika*, marked on the throne, which probably refers to the esoteric doctrine of the Buddha, for the *svastika* was adopted as a special symbol by several esoteric Buddhist sects.

2. A small support for the foot or feet of a god is also called *āsana*, and is generally in the form of a small lotus-flower, with the stem attached to the lotus-throne. Maitreya, as Buddha, has usually no support for his two pendent feet, but as Bodhisattva each foot is supported by a small lotus-flower. The left foot of the green Tārā has also a similar support, as well as

the left foot of the Nio-i-rin Kwan-non in Japan. The left foot of Jambala may rest on a conch-shell, or a *lai-bumpa* which is supported by a lotus *āsana*.

Some of the gods do not touch, directly, the lotus support.

Mahākāla treads on one or two prostrate elephants. Yama may stand on a man or a bull, or on a bull on top of a woman.

Yamāntaka (eight legs) treads on eight birds under which are different animals.

Hevajra stands on animals and genii.

Samvara stands on a man and a woman.

Tsañgs-pa treads on a man and a prostrate horse.

3. An *āsana* is also the position of the lower limbs of a god. In the 'adamantine' pose (*dhyānāsana* or *vajrāsana*) the legs are closely locked with the soles of both feet apparent, while in the *sattva* attitude the legs are loosely locked and the soles of the feet scarcely visible. According to Waddell, this pose indicates the 'first emergence from meditation'. In the *paryāṅkāśana* the right leg lies above the left with both of the soles visible. The attitude called *rājatīlā* or 'royal ease' (by Hodgson, *Lalitāsana* pose) is with the right knee raised, the left remaining bent in the usual position of a Buddha. In the 'enchanter's pose' the left remains bent, while the right is pendent. Maitreya is seated with both of the legs pendent. The Nio-i-rin Kwan-non has the right foot supported by the left knee. The masculine Kuan-yin may also have this position in China when represented meditating upon the best means of saving mankind.

Āśoka-flower. Attribute of the yellow Mārīcī and of Kurukullā. The *āśoka*-tree is called the tree of Consolation, and it was between the *bodhi*-tree and the *āśoka*-tree that the Buddha was born. The *āśoka*-flower is red, and should be represented somewhat like a rose in shape, with small jagged leaves.

Asura (S.) Lit. 'those who are not *devas*'. The *asura* are the mortal enemies of the *devas*.

Ātapatra (S.) Parasol—symbol of the goddess Sitātapatrā.

Aum ! v. *Om* !

Beng (T.) Mace.

Bhagavat (S.) or *Bhagavān*. Epithet of a Buddha; lit. 'The Happy One'.

Bhikṣu (S.) Buddhist monk. One who assumes the alms staff (*khakkhara*) and begging bowl (*pātra*), and gives himself up to contemplation.

Bhūmisparśa (S.) *Mudrā* called 'witness' (lit. 'earth-touching'). The right arm is pendent over the right knee. The hand, with the palm turned inward, has all the fingers extended downward with the third finger touching the lotus throne. The left hand lies on the lap, palm upward. This mystic gesture was used by Buddha to invoke the Earth-goddess as witness of his having resisted the temptation of Māra, god of Evil. It is also the *mudrā* of Akshobhya.

Bija (S.) v. *vija*.

Bodhi (S.) Enlightenment.

Bodhi-druma (S.) Lit. 'Tree of Enlightenment'. Each Buddha has a special tree called his 'bo-tree' (or *bodhi*-tree), under which he is supposed to have been born, do penance, preach, and die. The 'bo-tree' under which Gautama Buddha is believed to have received *bodhi* is the fig-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), or, according to others, the banyan-tree (*Pippala*).

The Buddha is said to have seated himself in meditation under four different trees symbolizing the four stages of *dhyāna*: under the fig-tree, the banyan-tree, the Mucilinda-tree (protected by the serpent), and the Rājāyatana-tree.

Buddhasmarana (S.) *Mudrā* of Salutation. The right hand is raised to a level with the head, with all the fingers extended upward, the palm outward.

Bum-pa (T.) v. *kalāśa*.


Caitya (S.) or *Stūpa* (T. *Chorten*). A Buddhist sanctuary.

In the open square of every *vihāra* (Buddhist monastery) there is a *caitya* dedicated to Adi-Buddha and the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. In Nepal, around the base (which may be square or quadrangular), are four niches, in which are placed the statues of the four Dhyāni-Buddhas: Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Vairocana is believed to occupy the interior, and in Java, according to Hodgson, his image is immured. Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, is never represented; but as Ādi-Buddha he is symbolized by the flame-shaped spike at the top of the *caitya*, in the centre of a moon-crescent (v. *Vajrāsattva*). In China, on the four sides of a pagoda, are placed stone images of the four great Bodhisattva: Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha) on the south; Kuan-yin on the east; Wen-shu (Mañjuśrī) on the west; P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra) on the north.

The 'elemental' *caitya* of Tibet and Japan is made up of five parts superposed, representing the five elements. The lower structure which holds the relic is the first element, *earth* (*garbha*), and may be either bell-shaped or quadrangular. Above it is either a dome (if the lower structure is quadrangular) or a square capital (if the lower part is bell-shaped), which represents the second element, *water*. This part is surmounted by a tapering pinnacle, sometimes divided into thirteen step-like segments representing the thirteen Bodhisattva heavens, which is the third element, *fire* (v. Pl. XIX, fig. d). In the 'elemental' *caitya* the pinnacle is surmounted by a moon-crescent, representing the fourth element, *air*. In the centre of the moon-crescent is a *linga*-shaped spike which represents the fifth element, *ether*.

There are, however, many variations of the *caitya*, especially in the upper part. The quadrangular cone often terminates, in Nepal, in a *linga*-shaped pinnacle which represents the Akanishṭha Bhuvana of Adi-Buddha. This part is surmounted by a five-spoked umbrella, the spokes representing the five Dhyāni-Buddhas; or there may be five umbrellas, one above the other. In Tibet the dome is usually inverted, being larger at the top than at the base (v. illus. in Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 263).

Miniature *caitya* are often found in Tibet and Japan (Pl. XIII), and the *cintāmaṇi* is frequently replaced in Japan by a small *caitya* representing the Iron Tower in which were hidden the Buddhist Scriptures (v. Nāgārjuna). As a symbol, it is held by Bishamon (the Japanese form of Kuvera) as well as by his Chinese form To-wen (v. Pl. LIV), and by Ratnapāṇi (Pl. XXIX, fig. a), and Māricī (v. Pl. XL).

In the caves of Ellora, three circles placed side by side with the third on the top , thus forming a triangle, symbolize a *caitya* as well as the *Tri-ratna* (v. *Ratnapāṇi*).

Cakra (S.) Wheel, symbol of absolute completeness. In the Vedic times the wheel was symbolical of occult powers, but in Buddhism it symbolizes the Wheel of the Law, which turns twelve times, or three revolutions for each of the Four Noble Truths. It is represented with eight spokes (or multiples of eight), indicating the Eight-fold Path of Self-Conquest.

The wheel is one of the sixty-five marks on the footprints of the Buddha, which, at Amara-vāṭī, are represented on the footstool below the vacant throne of the Buddha, behind which is also the Thousand-spoked Wheel of Victory. Buddhist legend relates that the Buddha, at his birth, took seven steps toward each of the four cardinal points, and thus indicated the conquering of the 'circle' or universe (v. temple painting in the Musée Guimet, Bacot Collection). The mystic *mudrā* called *dharmacakra* represents the 'turning of the Wheel of the Law'.

In pre-Buddhist times a great ruler was called a 'Wheel King' (*cakra-vartin*), and at his investiture a golden wheel was believed to fall from heaven. The Pāli term *chakkavatti* (*chakka*, wheel; *vatti*, ruler) was applied to the Buddha as the spiritual ruler of the world. In the earliest sculptures and frescoes the Master is symbolized by the Wheel, which is sometimes flanked by two gazelles. A trident may rise from the wheel (v. *Trisūla*).

The wheel symbol was first represented as a sun-disk which developed into a full-blown lotus with the centre surrounded by eight petals, and from that it developed into a wheel with eight spokes.

The origin of the thousand-spoked wheel is also probably the sun and its rays. According to Hsüan Tsang, the 'diamond' throne (*vajrāsana*) of the Buddha reposed on the *circumference* of a thousand-spoked wheel. (See illus. in Simpson, *Buddhist Prayer Wheel*, p. 48, fig. 12, and Havell, *Indian Sculptures and Painting*, Pl. iv.) At the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, the thousand-spoked wheel appeared outside of his coffin.

In Nepal the wheel of Vairocana is represented by the seed-vessel of the lotus, in the centre of which is the Nepalese *Yin-yang*.

The *cakra* is believed to symbolize Karma, 'a wheel of Fate that revolves relentlessly and ceaselessly'. It is the symbol of Maitreya, Vairocana, and Sitātapatrā (when holding the parasol). Yama as well as mGon-po Bramzai wear it on the breast, and Sangdai has it in his head-dress. Tsangs-pa may also hold the *cakra*.

Cāmara (S.) *hossu* (J.) Tail of the *yak* used as a fly-whisk. Tantra symbol. It may be carried by Bodhisattva in China who show Indian influence. In Japan it is a symbol of Fugen and is sometimes carried by the priests during certain religious ceremonies.

Campa (T.) White flower with yellow centre, emblem of Maitreya, whose two symbols are supported by two *campa* flowers, of which he holds a stem in each hand. *Campa* is also the Tibetan name of Maitreya.

Candra (S.) Moon. The full moon is the special symbol of Sarva-nīvaraṇa-vishkambhin. Saṃvara has the crescent-moon in his head-dress, as does also Avalokiteśvara when Simhanāda. v. *sūrya*.

Cāpa (S.) Bow (of Mercy), attribute of Kurukullā, Cundā (sixteen arms), Hālāhāla-Avalokiteśvara, and the red Māricī.

Carana (S.) Footprint. The footprints of Mañjuśrī have an eye in the centre of the *charan*. The Buddha has the eight glorious emblems and the thousand-spoked wheel figured in his footprints. v. *cakra*.

Chi-ken (J.) (Wisdom-fist) *mudrā* of the Five Elements. Special *mudrā* of Vairocana (v. p. 32).

Chodpan (T.) Five-leaved crown worn by the Northern Buddhist priests when worshipping the 'Eight Terrible Ones'.

Chorten (T.) Buddhist sanctuary. v. *caitya*.

Churī (S.) Knife. Tantra symbol.

Cintāmaṇi (S.) *tama* (J.) Lit. 'magic gem', which satisfies all desires (v. *Maṇi*). It is the special symbol of Kshitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Ratnapāṇi, Ratnasambhava, and Mahākālā, as well as of Jizō and the six-armed Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non. Avalokiteśvara may also carry it, but rarely, and it is the accessory symbol of several other gods.

The *cintāmaṇi* is represented in several different ways. The *maṇi*, or jewels, may be nine in number, in which case they represent the *nava ratna*, or the nine jewels borrowed from Brahmanism. Or they may represent the *sapta ratna*, or seven precious jewels, much considered in Tibet and China (v. *ratna*). The *maṇi* may also be six, or only three in number (more frequent in Japan), representing the *tri-ratna*, Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

In the usual Tibetan representation of the *cintāmaṇi*, the *maṇi* are bunched together and are surrounded by a flame-shaped glory. They are represented like the profile of an elongated eyeball, and in Japan the three *maṇi* are often enclosed in a flaming pearl.

In China as well as in Japan the *cintāmaṇi* may take the form of a flaming pearl without the *maṇi*, the origin of which is possibly the luminous pearl sent to Miao Shan by the Dragon King of Sea (v. legend Miao Shan). In Japan, in the paintings, the flame around the pearl has three points, vaguely indicating a *triśūla*. In the statues it may be without the flame,

or represented with three lines of flames which meet at the top, dividing the pearl into three equal divisions (v. Pl. XII, fig. b).

The flaming pearl may also take the place of the traditional form of the *cintāmaṇi* in Tibet (v. illustration of Mahākāla, Pl. I, fig. c).

In the frescoes discovered at Turfan by Herr von Le Coq, the Bodhisattva have the *ūrṇā* on the forehead and sometimes on the breast, outlined by a red flame, thus resembling the flaming pearl. Kshitigarbha is also represented in the frescoes from Chinese Turkestan holding a flaming pearl. In China Ratnapāṇi may hold a pearl with a three-forked flame issuing from it. In Japan Jizō is represented in paintings, holding a transparent *tama*.

In Tibet the *cintāmaṇi* is represented in charms, supported by the airy horse, Lungta.

The *cintāmaṇi* also takes the form of the *stūpa* or *caitya* (v. Glossary).

According to the esoteric doctrine, the *cintāmaṇi*, in pearl shape, is the symbol of the *manas*, the sixth sense. It is the 'glorious vesture of the soul', the radiant vehicle of the divine essence which, united with matter, forms man. v. *Vajradhātu*.

Dagoba (S.) Precious tower. v. *caitya*.

Damaru (S. and T.) Hand-drum. Tantra symbol supposed to be made of two half skulls.

Danda (S.) Magic wand.

Dhāraṇī (S.) A magical prayer, or merely a suite of mystic syllables for the purpose of casting spells.

At the beginning and in the middle of a *dhāraṇī* is a *mantra* (see), and at the end is the *māhātmya*, or the purpose of the *dhāraṇī*; that is to say, for what particular thing the *dhāraṇī* is supposed to be efficacious—in bringing rain, or getting advantage over an enemy, or obtaining children, &c. (Illustration of *dhāraṇī* with miniature of the god to be evoked, Pl. LXI.)

Dharma (S.) Buddhist Law. One of the Tri-ratna.

Dharmacakra (S.) *Mudrā* of teaching. Lit. 'Law (*dharma*), wheel (*cakra*)', usually interpreted 'turning the Wheel of the Law'. In Tibetan it is called *Thabdong-sheṣrab*, lit. 'Wisdom-matter', or the union of the Spiritual with the Material.

The *dharmacakra mudrā* varies somewhat according to the different schools and countries. The Indian mystic gesture is: the right hand at the breast, with the united tips of the index and thumb touching one of the fingers of the left hand, the palm being turned inward (for illustration see A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie I, p. 88). In Tibet both hands are held against the breast with the left hand covering the right, but it may be below the right, which is upright, while the left is on a line with the fore-arm. (Pl. XIV.) The Gandhāra school differs considerably. The fingers of the right hand are closed, the palm turned inward. The index of the left hand is loosely held by the closed fingers of the right, while the thumb touches the closed fingers at the tip, and the other fingers of the left hand are loosely closed (Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 173, and A. Foucher, *l'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 192). This gesture, in Japan, became the *mudrā* of the Six Elements (v. *Vairocana*, and illustration, Pl. xv, fig. c).

Dhvaja (S.) Banner of Victory. Symbol of Vaiśravaṇa.

Dhyāna (S.) Also called *Samādhi*. Deep meditation. *Mudrā* of Meditation. The hands lie in the lap, the right on the left with all fingers extended, and the palms turned upward. In Japan the fingers are locked, with the exception of the thumbs and indexes, which touch at the tips and form the 'triangular' pose (v. *Vitarka*). The indexes touch each other between the first and second joints, the palms being turned upward. (Pl. XVIII.) It is the usual *mudrā* of Amida.

Dīpa (S.) Lamp.

Dvīpa (S.) Island.

Fuh-shou kan (C.) A horned lemon, called by the common people in China 'Buddha fingers',

from the finger-like tendrils of its base. It is sometimes in the hand of Man-la, the Medicine Buddha.

Fun-nu (J.) 'angry' form of Myō-ō.

Gaja (S.) Elephant, symbolizing 'care, caution, and a mighty dignity'. It is the support of Samantabhadra, and is represented in Tibet with one head, while in Japan, as support of Fugen, it has usually six tusks. The white elephant with six tusks symbolizes the reincarnation of the Buddha and is usually represented with red feet and face. The six tusks emit six coloured rays. v. H. T. Frances, *Jātaka Tales*, p. 395. The elephant support of Kongōsatta has three or four heads. Mahākāla treads on one or two elephants, and Saṃvara may have an elephant-skin over his shoulders. The elephant as a Northern Buddhist god is the demon Vinataku.

Garbhadhātu (S.) Matrix element. v. *Vajradhātu*.

Ghaṇṭā (S.) Bell with *vajra* handle carried by Vajradhara, Vajrasattva, and Trailokya-vijaya.

Grigug (T.) Chopper. Tantra symbol.

Hīnayāna (S.) Lit. *hīna* = small, *yāna* = conveyance. In others words, the simplest vehicle of salvation, doctrine of Śākya-muni. v. *Tri-yāna*.

Hossu (J.) Fly-whisk. v. *cāmara*.

Īśvara (S.) Lit. 'Lord'. In Nepal Ādi-Buddha was called *Īśvara* by the Aśvarika sect.

Jambhara (S.) Lemon, symbol of Jambala, a form of Kuvera.

Jambu. A tree with triangular leaves, considered sacred by Northern Buddhists. v. *Mañjuśrī*.

Jñāna (S.) Transcendent wisdom.

Kagi (J.) Key held by the Japanese form of Mahākāla.

Kalāśa (S.) (T. *tsé-bum*). Vase believed to hold the *amṛita*, or Elixir of Life. The special symbol of Padmapāṇi is the vase which he usually holds by the neck, but it may also be supported by a lotus-flower, of which he holds the stem in his right hand. In the former case the vase is round, or oval if Indian, and pointed if of the Gandhāra school, and without a base. If, however, the *kalāśa* is supported, it has a base and generally a spout.

The feminine Kuan-yin may hold the vase, or have it at her side, and in it (or held in her hand) may be a willow branch, with which she is believed to sprinkle around her the Nectar of Life which in China the *kalāśa* is also supposed to contain.

The masculine form of Kuan-yin, both in China and Japan, may have a lotus-bud in the vase. The vase and the willow branch, or lotus-flower (or bud) symbolize the *maṇḍala* of the Two Parts. v. *Vajradhātu*.

Maitreya has the *kalāśa* as an accessory symbol with the wheel. He rarely carries it, but it is supported by a lotus-flower at his left shoulder.

The goddess Vasudhārā has the vase symbol, from which pour jewels.

Amitāyus holds the ambrosia vase, which differs from the usual *kalāśa*. It is low and has a cover, out of which issues an *āsoka* branch. From under the cover, falling in garlands around the vase, are strings of beads, representing sacred pills used in the ceremony of praying for long life.

Ushṇīṣhaviṣayā also carries a similar covered vase which is, however, much less ornamented.

Kuvera may have one under his arm, and his right foot is sometimes supported by an overturned *kalāśa*.

Kalpa (S.) Period of time transcending calculation.

Kapāla (S.) Skull cup. A Tantra symbol carried by the Dharmapāla, Yi-dam, and their *śakti*, and by the Dākini. The origin of the skull cup is probably found in the legend of Yamāntaka (see), who, before waging war on Yama, killed the three robbers, and, making cups of their skulls, drank their blood. The *kapāla* is represented filled with blood when in the hands of the gods, but in temple pictures it is sometimes filled with eyes, ears, and tongues

of demons—offerings to the gods. In the skull cups held by the various hands of Hevajra are animals and *devas*. In the Tantra ceremonies a skull cup is filled with wine to represent the blood, and offered to the god. In the temples it is usually on a bronze stand with a bronze cover. (Pl. LXII, fig. c.)

Khadga (S.) Sword, symbol of the enlightenment of the world, for 'as the sword cuts knots, so does the intellect pierce the deepest recesses of Buddhist thought'. The *khadga* is the special symbol of Mañjuśrī, either carried in his hand or rising out of a lotus-flower. Fudō, in Japan, also carries the sword, and it is held as accessory symbol by Cundā (sixteen arms).

Khakkkhara (S.) (T. *Khar-gil*, J. *Shakujo*.) Sounding staff. The *khakkkhara* was believed to be a purely Japanese symbol until temple banners and frescoes dating from the fifth century were found, in Chinese Turkestan, by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang, and by Herr von Le Coq at Turfan, representing Kshitigarbha with the sounding staff. As Buddhism did not enter Japan until A. D. 552, this fact proves that the use of the *khakkkhara* as a symbol came into Japan from Central Asia. It was practically never used as such in Nepal or Tibet.

Although the *khakkkhara* is nowhere mentioned in the teachings of the Southern school of Buddhism, reference to it is found several times in the Mahāyāna Scriptures, and it is looked upon by the Northern Buddhists as one of the eighteen indispensable articles that a Bhikshu must possess.

According to the command of Gautama Buddha, the Bhikshu (mendicant Buddhist priest), when on a pilgrimage, must carry the *khakkkhara*.

If the Bhikshu wishes to enter a dwelling he may not speak, but after knocking, if it is asked who is there, the sounding staff is to be shaken.

Again, according to the Buddha, no life must be taken, and a Bhikshu, by shaking the *khakkkhara*, warns all crawling life of his approach and thus avoids treading on them. It is also believed that if the Bhikshu shakes his sounding staff while walking through a thicket or grassy ground, all wild beasts and poisonous insects will be frightened and do him no harm.

The *khakkkhara* is a long, hexagonal wooden staff, capped with a metal capital, which has a pagoda-shaped head with two, three, or four crotchets, into which four, six, or twelve loose metal rings are inserted.

The different numbers of metal rings have each a special meaning, according to the different teachings of Buddhism.

The staff carried by the Bhikshu should only have four metal rings, which represent the Four Noble Truths: suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.

The staff with three crotchets and six rings was invented by Kāśyapa Buddha, and is carried by the Bodhisattva, who, as a preliminary condition of their attainment of Buddhahood, must exercise the six Pāramitā, or Perfections.

The *khakkkhara* with four crotchets and twelve metal rings was invented by Gautama Buddha, and can only be carried by Pratyēka Buddhas. The twelve rings represent the Twelve-Fold Chain of Causation.

It is claimed by certain Buddhists that the whole *khakkkhara* signifies Mount Sumeru, and that each part of the staff has its special meaning, but the explanation, although extremely complicated, resolves itself into this, that the metal part represents the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu, or the Maṇḍala of the Two Parts. v. *Vairocana*.

The *khakkkhara* is practically never used as a symbol in Tibet, but is carried by Ti-tsang in China and by Jizō and Fukū kenjaku in Japan.

Khantsig (T.) Small shrine several stories high. v. *stūpa*.

Khar-gil (T.) v. *khakkkhara*.

Khatvāṅga (S.) Magic stick which is believed to have been invented by Padmasambhava and is

carried by him, as well as by the *Ḍākinī*. The top of the *khaṭvāṅga* is composed of an ambrosia vase, on which reposes a *vajra*, or double *vajra*, above which are two Buddha heads and a skull superposed. The skull may be surmounted either by a *vajra* placed upright, or a *triśūla*, which latter form is usually carried by Padmasambhava. According to Grünwedel, *khaṭvāṅga* have been found in Tibetan temple paintings which have *rings hanging from the lower vajra like the khakkhara*.

Kichi-jō-kwa (J.) Pomegranate, symbol of the goddess *Hārītī*, and may also be carried by the Japanese *Tārā*.

Kin-kang (C.) Diamond; v. *vajra*.

Kolbok (M.) Cushions piled one on top of the other forming a seat, in general use in Mongolia for Buddhist priests, the number indicating the rank. *Vaiśravaṇa* may be represented seated on a *kolbok*.

Kongō (J.) Diamond; v. *vajra*.

Kṣepaṇa (S.) *Mudrā* or the gesture of sprinkling ambrosia. The two hands are joined palm to palm with tips of indexes touching and turned downward into the vessel containing *amṛta*.

Lai-bumpa (T.) Tibetan low flat vessel, symbol of perfection in abstract thought, object of contemplation used by the Lama priests when meditating.

Lakshana (S.) The thirty-two superior marks (*mahāpuruṣa lakshana*) of a Buddha are: 1, a protuberance on the skull (*uṣhṇīṣha*); 2, the hair, glossy black, arranged in short curls, each curl turning from left to right; 3, the brow is broad and smooth; 4, between the eyebrows is a little ball (*ūrṇā*) or tuft of hair, shining like silver or snow; 5, the eyelashes are like those of a bull; 6, the eyes brilliant black; 7, he has forty teeth of perfectly equal size; 8, they lie close to one another; 9, and are dazzling white; 10, his voice resembles *Brahmā*'s; 11, he has an exquisite sense of taste; 12, the tongue is large and long; 13, the jaws are those of a lion; 14, the shoulders and arms are perfectly round; 15, the seven parts of the body are quite rounded and full; 16, the space between the shoulders is filled out; 17, the skin has a tinge of gold colour; 18, the arms are long, and when he stands upright the hands reach to the knees; 19, the upper part of the body is like that of a lion; 20, his figure is like that of a banyan-tree (*Ficus religiosa*); 21, only one hair grows from each pore; 22, these little hairs curl from above towards the right; 23, nature has concealed the marks of sex; 24, the thighs are well rounded; 25, the legs are like those of a gazelle; 26, the fingers and nails are long; 27, the heel is elongated; 28, the instep is high; 29, the feet and hands are delicate and slender; 30, the fingers and toes have a web between; 31, under the soles of the feet appear two shining wheels with a thousand spokes; 32, the feet are flat and stand firm.

For the eighty inferior marks (*anuvyañjana-lakshana*) see Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India* (English translation), p. 161.

Lungta (S.) Airy horse which supports the *cintāmaṇi*—considered indispensable on charms, especially by the nomadic Tibetan tribes.

Madhyamayāna (S.) Lit. (*Madhyama*) middling, (*yāna*) conveyance, doctrine founded by Nāgārjuna. v. *Tri-yāna*.

Mahāyāna (S.) Lit. (*mahā*) great, (*yāna*) conveyance. The real founder of the *Mahāyāna* system is unknown. In the first century A.D. the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotanda-śāstra* was written by Aśvaghoṣa. In the second century the *Mahāyāna* system was developed by Nāgārjuna and took a definite form. v. *Tri-yāna*.

Mālā (S.) Generally translated as *rosary*, but is possibly symbolical of the necklace of pearls referred to in the 'Lotus of the Good Law', when the Akṣhayamati Bodhisattva, addressing the Buddha, says: 'World Honoured One, let me now present an offering to the Bodhisattva Kwan-shai-yin' (Avalokiteśvara). Then, loosening from his neck an entire pearl necklace of the value of 100,000 pieces, he presented it to the Bodhisattva as a religious offering, but

Kwan-shai-yin refused it until the Buddha begged him to accept it. He then 'accepted the necklace and, dividing it into two parts, presented one part to Śākya-muni and the other part to the *stūpa* of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna' (Beal, *Catena*, p. 389).

The *mālā* is the special symbol of Avalokiteśvara as well as that of his Chinese manifestation Kuan-shih-yin. It may also be carried by Prajñāpāramitā (four-armed), Cundā, and Vasudhārā.

Maṇḍala (S.) Magic circle geometrically subdivided into circles or squares, in which are painted Buddhist symbols and divinities. v. *Vairocana* and *Vajradhātu* (illus., Pl. XVI).

Maṇi (S.) A jewel. According to Eitel, it is 'a fabulous pearl which is ever bright and luminous, therefore a symbol of Buddha and of his doctrine'. v. *cintāmaṇi* and the Legend of Miao Shan. In the *Kāma-sāstras* the name *maṇi* is applied to the male principle. v. *Ōm*.

Manji (J.) v. *svastica*.

Mantra (S.) Short mystic formula, often meaningless. It figures at the beginning and in the middle of a *dhāraṇī*, and is believed, when recited, to be most efficacious. v. *Ōm*.

Meru (Mount) v. *Sumeru*.

Mo-yū (C.) Wooden drum in the form of a fish with its tail in its mouth, used in Buddhist temples in China and Japan. The Chinese Kuan-yin may carry it in the stylized form of a bag.

Mudrā (S.) Mystic pose of the hand or hands. According to Eitel, 'a system of magic gesticulation consisting in distorting the fingers so as to imitate ancient Sanskrit characters of supposed magic effect'. The use of the *mudrā*, as well as the *mantra*, was introduced into Japan by Kōbō Daishi, and is only used by the Shin-gon and Ten-dai sects. Some of them represent certain phases in the life of the Buddha, such as: *abhaya*, *dhyaṇa*, *dharmacakra* &c.

Mukṭa (S.) Stiff head-dress covering the chignon of the deities in Indo-China.

Muni (S.) Saint or sage, one who is inspired.

Myō-ō (J.) Group of ferocious deities. According to the *Himitsu Jirin*, there are eight in the group: Ba-tō, Dai-rin, Gundari, Buteki, Gozanze, Dai-itoku, Fu-dō, Munōshō; but the group varies and may include Aizen, Sho-zanze and Mahā Māyūrī who is not a *fun-nu* or ferocious deity.

Nāga (S.) Mythical serpent god. v. *Nāgas*.

Nāga pushpa (S.) v. *campa*.

Nāga-taru (T.) *Nāga*-tree (eight-branched coral), seen usually in the Tibetan temple pictures. In the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin there is a large *nāga*-tree in wood, painted to represent coral, and on each branch there is a small Buddha. They are also to be seen in the Zama temple in Peking.

Nakula (S.) Mongoose—attribute of Kuvera (v. s.).

Namaḥkāra (S.) *Mudrā* of Prayer. The hands are at the breast in the devotional attitude, with the palms and fingers touching. It is the special *mudrā* of Avalokiteśvara when with more than two arms.

Nirvāṇa (S.) Nirvāṇa, according to the Northern Buddhist, is not annihilation after death, but the extinction of all worldly desires, 'the blowing out of the flame of selfish longing'. To arrive at Nirvāṇa is to reach the highest stage of bliss, since it is an escape from the ever-turning wheel of transmigration.

Norbu (T.) Jewel. v. *ratna*.

Nyo-i (J.) Mace held by Samantabhadra and sometimes by Mañjuśrī.

Nyorai (J.) *Pathāgata* (S.) Lit. 'Lord'. One of the appellations of the Buddha.

Ōm! Ōm, the mystic syllable of *A-u-m*, is venerated by the Brahmans as well as by the Buddhists. The most devout esteem it to be too sacred to be uttered aloud, the word being only formed by the lips.

In the *Svayambhū-Purāṇa* it is written that when all was void 'the triliteral syllable *Aum* became manifest, the first created, the ineffably splendid, surrounded by all the radical letters (*Vīja-Ākṣhara*) as by a necklace'.

From *Aum* the alphabet was produced, called *Mahā Varṇa*, the letters of which are the 'seed of the universe'. v. *vīja*.

Ādi-Buddha, at his will, proceeded from *Om*. 'In that *Aum*, he (Ādi-Buddha), who is present in all things, formless and passionless, who possesses the Tri-ratna, was produced by his own will' (*Svayambhū-Purāṇa*). According to the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, the Ādi-Buddha became manifest in the greatest *Śūnyatā* (void) as the letter *A*. In the *Pujā-Khaṇḍa* it is written that when all was *Śūnyatā*, *Prajñā Devī* (Ādi-Dharma) was revealed out of *Ākāśa* (ether) with the letter *u*. According to the *Svayambhū-Purāṇa*, the *vīja mantra* of Saṅgha is *m*. Thus the letters A-u-m are the *vīja mantra* of Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. v. *Tri-ratna*.

The *mantra* generally begin with *Om* and end with *hūṃ*. The most widely known *mantra* is the six-syllable one of Avalokiteśvara, 'Om, maṇi padme, hūṃ!' (v. *Avalokiteśvara* and *Vajradhātu*). The Tibetans claim that it fell from the heaven in the fourth century A.D. In China and Japan there is a six-syllabled *mantra* A-ba-ra-ka-ki-un. *A* corresponds with *Om* and *un* with *hūṃ*. The Ni-ō (v. s.) symbolize these two syllables.

Pada (S.) Absorption. *Nirvāṇa pada*, absorption into Ādi-Buddha.

Padma (S.) (J. *Ren-ge*) The *padma* is a symbol of self-creation. Every Buddha and Bodhi-sattva being *svayambhū*, or self-existent, is supported by a lotus-flower to indicate his divine birth. The *padma*, as symbol of self-generation, was also adopted by the most important Buddhist sect in China, the Svābhāvika, as their special emblem, with the *trīśūla* indicating the Tri-ratna issuing from its centre (v. p. 5).

The lotus-flower is in itself a prodigy, being productive of itself, and, to use the words of Mr. Payne Knight, 'vegetating from its own matrix without being fostered in the earth. It was naturally adopted as a symbol of the productive power of the Waters upon which the active spirit of the Creator (Ādi-Buddha) acted in giving life and vegetation to matter.'

At the beginning of the world Ādi-Buddha manifested himself in the form of a flame rising from a lotus-flower. In the Nepalese paintings (see No. V in the library of the Institut de France) the stalk of the *padma* may rise from a triangle (v. *tri-koṇa*) lying on the seed-vessel of an eight-leaved lotus-flower; but the usual representation is rising from water.

According to the Nepalese legend, when the ancient Buddha Vipasyi went to Nepal, accompanied by his disciples, to worship the Svayambhū (Ādi-Buddha), he thrice made the round of the lake, Nāga Vasa. He then said several *mantra* over the root of a lotus, and, throwing it into the water, exclaimed: 'With time, this root shall produce a flower, then, from out of the flower, Svayambhū, the Lord of the Agniśṭha Bhuvana, shall be revealed in the form of a flame; and then shall the lake become a cultivated and populous country.' (For legend see Hodgson, *The Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, p. 115.) v. *Mañjuśrī*.

The lotus-flower symbolizes the female principle. In the *Śatapatha Brahmana* it is written, 'the lotus leaf is the womb', and in the *mantra*, 'Om! maṇi padme, hūṃ!' the *padma* represents the Material and the *maṇi* the Spiritual, elements. v. *Om*.

The *padma* in the hand of Padmapāṇi denotes creative power. In Nepal and Tibet it is generally a full-blown lotus-flower; while in China and Japan the Kuan-yin and Kwan-non often hold a lotus-bud. If the *padma* is in the vase it represents the union of the Spiritual and the Material. The lotus-flower in the hand of Mañjuśrī represents the teachings of Buddha, replacing the usual book (*Prajñāpāramitā*); while in the hands of the Tārās it symbolizes perfect purity, for although the *padma* may rise out of impure water, it remains undefiled.

The pink lotus-flower is represented full-blown, with the centre apparent. It is the special symbol of Padmapāṇi and of the white Tārā.

The blue lotus may either be represented with all the petals upright, or with several of the outside rows turned back. The centre is always hidden and the *utpala* is almost invariably presented in profile. It is the special symbol of Mañjuśrī and the green Tārā. The lotus-bud is a more frequent form in China or Japan than in Tibet.

When the symbols are not held in the hands of the gods they are supported by lotus-flowers, of which the stems are held by the gods, and in that case the hands generally make a mystic gesture (*mudrā*) as well.

The teachings of the Buddha were symbolized by a full-blown lotus-flower with eight petals, indicating the Eight-Fold Path of Self-Conquest. The lotus was also used to represent the Buddhist wheel, the eight petals being the eight spokes. In the paintings of the *maṇḍala* (magic circles) there is usually an eight-petalled lotus-flower, in the centre of which is an important god, and on each petal an assistant. v. Pl. xvi, and *maṇḍala*.

The lotus support of a Buddha, or Bodhisattva, if painted, is red; of a Dharmapāla, pink. The fiercest forms of the Dharmapāla are supported by a pink lotus with jagged petals. v. *āsana*.

The god, however, may not be on a lotus-throne, but have his divine birth indicated by a lotus-flower under each foot. In the paintings discovered at Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein the first steps of the Buddha are represented by lotus-flowers which sprang up under each foot as he walked; and Jizō (Kshitigarbha) is represented with a small yellow *padma* under one foot and a white one under the other.

In the frescoes found at Turfan, by Herr von Le Coq, the Dipaṅkara Buddha is represented with a lotus-flower under each foot, while all the Bodhisattva stand on lotus-thrones.

The Northern Buddhists believe that in Sukhāvātī, the western paradise of Amitābha, there is a lotus-pond, and that whenever a Buddhist is born a lotus-bud rises to the surface of the water, and is believed to bloom or fade according to the life the Buddhist leads. v. *Sukhāvātī*.

The *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara is 'Ōm, maṇi padme, hūṃ!' 'Oh, the jewel (of creation) is in the lotus.' v. *Ōm*.

Paraśu (S.) Axe. Tantra symbol.

Parinirvāṇa (S.) Death of the Buddha.

Parivara (S.) Group of deities around an important divinity. (v. Pl. v.)

Paryaiṅkāśana (S.) v. *āsana*.

Pāśa (S.) Lasso, sometimes with a small thunderbolt at each end—symbol of Amoghapāśa Māricī, Yamāntaka, Acala, and Fudō.

Pātra (S.) Begging-bowl carried by wandering Buddhist priests. The *pātra* is often represented in the Buddha's left hand, possibly in reference to a Buddhist legend, which is the following: On the seventh day of the third month the spirit of a tree under which Buddha had for seven weeks been in a state of *samādhi* (deep meditation) took notice of Buddha's long absence from food. Some travelling merchants passed at that moment, and, their way being blocked by insurmountable objects, they asked the spirit of the tree to help them. He called their attention to the presence of the Buddha, and told them that they should offer him food. The four Kings of the Devas (Lokapāla) had four sweet-smelling bowls, which they filled with the barley mixed with honey that the merchants offered. Buddha took all the four bowls through fear of offending one of the kings, and, placing one on top of the other on his left hand, formed them into one (Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 24). It is believed that when Maitreya comes upon earth as a Manushi Buddha the *pātra* will again become four bowls.

The *pātra* may also be carried by Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Maṇḍa.

Phurbu (T.) Lit. 'peg' or 'nail'. Tantra symbol supposed to prevent evil spirits from inflicting mischief. It is a dagger in form of an elongated triangle, and often has a very complicated handle, in which there is usually a head, believed to represent Hayagrīva (Tandin), who is looked upon as a special protector against malignant spirits.

Prajñika (S.) Atheistic triad: Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

Pratyālīḍha (S.) Pose of Hevajra, Mahākāla and Kālacakra. The right leg is bent and steps to the right. The left leg is straight.

Pratyēka (S.) A Buddha without master or disciples.

Prēta (S.) (M. *Birit*.) Lit. 'hungry demon'. They have large stomachs, narrow mouths, and exhale fire, but cannot drink. The Prētas are believed to be visible only at night.

Pustaka (S.), or book, made originally of palm-leaves cut long and narrow, and held together between two pieces of flat wood of the same size and shape, the whole bound by a string.

The *pustaka* as a symbol represents the *Prajñāpāramitā*, a treatise on Transcendent Wisdom, supposed to have been given to the Nāgas by the Buddha to guard until mankind had become wise enough to grasp its profound truths.

Nāgārjuna claimed to have received the book from the Nāgas and to have founded the Mahāyāna school on its teachings. v. *Nāgārjuna*.

The *pustaka* is the symbol of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and of the goddesses Prajñāpāramitā, Cundā, and Vasudhārā, and may be carried as an accessory symbol by other gods.

Rākshasa (S.), or *Rakshas*, demons that devour men. Invoked by sorcerers.

Ratna (S.) Jewel. The Sapta Ratna (M. *dologa erdeni*), or the seven Buddhist jewels, are: 1, the golden wheel believed to fall from heaven on the investiture of a 'Wheel King', symbol of Perfection of the Law; 2, a precious stone (*maṇi*), symbol of the accomplishment of wishes; 3, a royal consort (a noble woman) symbolizes the 'calming caress'; 4, the best horse (a white horse), symbol of prompt success in the acquisition of the qualities of the Buddha; 5, the best elephant, as bearer of 84,000 sacred books, symbolizes the infinite propagation of the religion; 6, the best treasurer (civil officer), who by his generosity removes poverty, and by his justice assures the well-being of people; 7, the best leader (military chief), who with his sword of wisdom repels the enemies. (These last two are sometimes interpreted: 6, guardian spirits; 7, soldiers and servants.) v. also *Tri-ratna*.

Ren-ge (J.) Lotus-flower. v. *padma*.

Renge-no-in (J.) *Padma mudrā* or gesture of the lotus. v. *Uttara-Bodhi*.

Sādhana (S.) Formula for the invocation of a god, which must be carried out in the following manner: On a certain day the Buddhist magician priest makes his proper toilet and goes out to a solitary spot, which, according to his humour, is either gay like a wood, or the confluence of two rivers, or to a place of cremation. He then seats himself on a spot already purified for the occasion, where he proceeds to invoke the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, offering imaginary or real flowers or perfumes. He begins by a confession of sins, pronounces his act of faith in the three jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha), and, after deep meditation, succeeds in abolishing his own personality and identifying himself with the divinity which he wishes to invoke, proceeding according to the *Sādhana*.

As an example, the Siṃhanāda *Sādhana* proceeds as follows: He (the Buddhist priest) must see, developed from the white syllable 'Ōm!', a moon disk¹; above this, from the white syllable 'Aḥ!', a white lion; and above this, from the white syllable 'Am!', a white lotus, on the heart of which he is to see the syllable 'Hriḥ!', white and shining. Having developed all this, he must see himself in form of Siṃhanāda, a body all white with two arms, one face, and three eyes; his hair in form of a tiara, his head-dress ornamented with a small image of Amitābha; crouched in Indian fashion, with one knee raised, seated on a lion covered

¹ Platform on which the god is seated.

with a tiger-skin, the five Dhyāni-Buddhas emanating from his person. Having thus meditated on all this, tired of meditation, let the conjurer pronounce the formula of conjuration (A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, partie II, p. 8).

The priest is then believed to be visited by the god, whereupon he presents the petition of his client.

Śakti (S.) (T. *nus-ma*), or the more popular expression *yum* (v. *yab-yum*). Female energy of a god. v. S. Lévi, trans. *Mahāyāna lamkara sūtra*, p. 46.

Samādhi (S.) (Sam-ā-dhi), lit. 'self-possessed'. The deepest form of abstract meditation.

Saṅgha (S.) The Buddhist community, or church. Esoteric sense, *union*. v. *Tri-ratna*.

Śaṅkha (S.) Conch-shell, symbol of the preaching of the Buddha as well as of the feminine principle. It is presented to the Buddhist priest after his initiation.

Śara (S.) Arrow (of confession). v. *Capa*.

Śarīra (S.) (M. and J. *shari*.) Lit. particles of bones, relics, or ashes of a Buddha preserved in *stūpas* and worshipped. They are sometimes called *Dharmasārīra*. v. *tsa-tsa* and *shari-to*.

Shakujō (J.) v. *khakkhara*.

Shari-tō (J.) Japanese shrine containing a *śari* or Buddha bone. In the ninth century cremation was introduced into Japan, and in the ashes of Buddhist saints were found small cartilagenous balls which were looked upon as holy gems and kept as relics in crystal shrines.

Simha (S.) Lion—symbolizes 'boldness, bravery, and a fresh, eager, and advancing spirit'—emblem of Vairocana. v. *lakshana*, 13 and 19.

Simhanāda (S.) Lit. 'with the voice of a lion'. According to legend, the roarings are believed to awaken stillborn babes. A god seated on a roaring lion is believed to cure leprosy. Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin), Mañjuśrī, and Jambala may be Simhanāda, as well as the female Kuan-yin and the green Tārā. (v. Pls. xxxv and xxxvii.)

Simhāsana (S.) Lion throne. v. *āsana*.

Skugsum (T.) v. *Tri-kāya*.

Stotra (S.) Buddhist hymn.

Stūpa (S.) (J. *sotoba*.) Lit. 'precious tower'—a tower to hold relics. v. *caitya*.

Sukhāvati. The Western Paradise of Amitābha. The common people look upon Sukhāvati as equivalent to Nirvāṇa, but, according to the Mahāyāna teachings, it is the last stage before Nirvāṇa. M. de la Vallée Poussin calls it a 'Buddha field' to prepare the souls for Nirvāṇa. It is here that the Bodhisattva, who have not elected to acquire merit by becoming Mānushi-Buddhas, sit on lotus-flowers and accumulate merit until they are eligible to Nirvāṇa. v. *Amitābha*.

Sumeru (Mount) or Mount Meru—supposed highest peak of the Himālayas, and believed to be the centre of the universe. In the *Bhadra Kalpavadāna* it is written: First air, then fire, then earth, and in the centre of the earth, Sumeru, the sides of which are the residence of the thirty-three millions of gods (*Devatas*). Śakra lives in his paradise which is on its summit, and its four sides are guarded by the four Lokapāla.

Śūnyatā (S.) Emptiness, unreality, nothingness.

Sūrya. Sun, special symbol of Ākāśagarbha. The sun-disk and the moon are held by one of the twenty-one Tārās as well as by Āryavalokiteśvara, especially in China and Japan.

The sun-disk, surmounted by a trident, is called the *sūrya-maṇi* or sun-jewel (v. *cintā-maṇi*). In the *Sūryanāma Sūtra* it is said that Buddha 'caused to issue from the summit of his head a flood of glory composed of a hundred precious rays' (Beal, *Catena*, p. 424). The Nepalese Buddhas are sometimes represented with the *sūrya-maṇi* above the *uṣṇīṣa*. The symbol is also used in Nepal, issuing from a lotus-flower, to represent the Svayambhū or Adi-Buddha at the creation of the world. v. *Trisūla*.

Sūtra (S.) From the Sanskrit root *siv*, 'to sew', meaning to thread or string. In other words, a *sūtra* is a body of doctrine. It must be composed of words coming from the Buddha's own lips—words 'strung together' in form of a sermon.

Svabhāva (S.) Lit. *sva* (own), *bhava* (nature), 'self-existent'. Ādi-Buddha is called Svabhāva by the Svābhāvika sect.

Svastika (S.) *manji* (J.) The svastika is one of the sixty-five marks of Buddhahood found in the imprint of the Buddha's foot. On some of the images of the Buddha it is on his breast, and may also be represented before him on the lotus-throne. It is called by the Chinese *sin-yin* (heart-seal). As a Buddhist symbol it represents the esoteric doctrine of the Buddha, and was adopted by several sects. The *svastika*, however, is found in many other countries, and is the subject of much controversy. (Pl. II, fig. c, and Pl. XVIII, fig. a.)

Svayambhū (S.) Lit. 'spontaneity', or that which is self-existent. The Ādi-Buddha is called Svayambhū.

Tantra (S.) Lit. 'treatise'. The *Tantra*, or mystic treatises, comprise twenty-two volumes. The *Anuttara Tantra* treats of the worship of the Active Producing Principle on which the Tantra-Yoga system is based.

The Mahā-Tantra system is a debased form of the Yogā-cārya school, and made its appearance toward the end of the sixth century. The worship of the *śakti*, or female energy of the gods, began to influence the Mahāyāna system in the seventh century, and became very popular in Tibet and Mongolia, but was never adopted by the Chinese or Japanese in the *yab-yum* form.

The Tantra forms of the gods often have several heads, and always more than two arms. They may be peaceful, but are usually ferocious in aspect, in which case their symbols are warlike, and their ornaments are skulls and serpents. The most popular Tantra symbol, which is held by both the god and his *śakti*, is the *kapāla* or skull cup filled with blood, or with the eyes, ears, and tongues of demons.

Tarjanī mudrā (S.) Menacing with the index.

Tathāgata (S.) Tathāgata is the highest epithet of a Buddha, and is generally used for the seven principal Buddhas. It sometimes designates the Tri-kāya (v. s.). There is a divergence of opinion as to the correct translation of the word. Hodgson gives: '*Tathā*, thus; *gata*, gone, or he who does not come again.' In other words, he who will have no more re-births. The Buddhist scriptures say, 'it does not come again'. Rémusat translates it as the 'avenue'. Eitel gives: 'like—to come', or 'one who (in coming into the world) is like the coming (of his predecessors)'. According to Waddell, 'similarly gone'; while Mead interprets Tathāgata as 'He-who-has-reached-the-That-stage, meaning the state of Perfection'. Hodgson says that the term should only be applied to Ādi-Buddha, and alludes to his 'voluntary secession from the versatile world into that of abstraction'.

Thabdong-shesrab (T.) or union of Spirit and Matter. v. *Dharmacakra*.

Tri-kāya (S.) (T. *Shugsum*.) Three (*Tri*), bodies (*kāya*), a threefold embodiment. It is believed by some of the Northern Buddhist sects that a Buddha may live in three separate spheres at the same time.

According to Eitel (*Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*) there are three representations of Buddha:

1. Statues, Teachings, Stūpas.
2. The historical Buddha unites in himself three bodily qualities:
 - I. Nirmāṇa-kāya—human, mortal, and ascetic;
 - II. Sambhoga-kāya—body of Supreme Happiness;
 - III. Dharma-kāya—abstract body.

3. Buddha having passed through and existing in three forms :

- I. Śākya-muni on earth. Earthly Buddha endowed with *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, having passed through innumerable transformations on earth.
- II. Locana in *Dhyāna Saṅgha*. Heavenly *Dhyāni-Bodhisattva* endowed with *Sam-bhogakāya* of absolute completeness.
- III. Vairocana in *Nirvāṇa*. *Dhyāni-Buddha* endowed with *Dharma-kāya* of absolute purity in *Nirvāṇa*.

Tri-koṇa (S.) Triangle. The *tri-koṇa* is the symbol of the *Tri-ratna*, and, according to the secret doctrine of certain sects, represents the *yoni*, 'from which the world was manifest', the source of all things. The triangle is often found in Nepalese temples dedicated to the *Buddha-śaktis* and figures in the *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* immediately above the five-leaved lotus enclosure (v. *Vajradhātu, Tri-ratna* and Pl. XVI). The Japanese look upon the triangle as a flame-symbol—'body of fire' (third element)—which destroys all that is impure.

The Buddha, according to Beal, once 'discoursed on the symbol "I" with three dots .'. arranged as a triangle resting on its base', and 'used the triangle as a symbol of the embodied form of the *Tathāgata*'.

When seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* the Buddha forms a perfect triangle resting on its base, and it is believed by Buddhists to have been his attitude in the womb of his mother. In the *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* the triangle rests on its base, and, according to the esoteric doctrine, is the form which is symbolical of material essence. The triangle with the point below is the symbol of the highest form of spirituality—the spiritual essence of *Ādi-Buddha*.

Tri-loka (S.) The celestial, terrestrial, and infernal divisions of the versatile universe created by *Brahmā*.

Tri-mūrti (S.) Buddhist triad: *Mañjuśrī*, *Avalokiteśvara*, and *Vajrapāṇi*.

Tri-ratna (S.) The three jewels—Buddha, Dharma, *Saṅgha* (Buddha, the Law, the Community). The three jewels are symbolized by the *triśūla*, by the trilateral syllable *a-u-m* (v. *Ōm !*), and by the *tri-koṇa*.

In the Buddhist scriptures it is written that *Ādi-Dharma* revealed herself from a point in the centre of the triangle. From one side of the triangle she 'produced Buddha; from another side, Dharma; and from the third side, *Saṅgha*'. *Ādi-Dharma* is therefore the mother of the Buddha that issued from the first side (right side of the triangle. *All the Buddhas are born from the right side of their mothers*). The Dharma that issued from the second side is the 'wife of the Buddha of the first side and the mother of the other Buddhas'. (v. Hodgson, *The Languages, History, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 87.)

According to the esoteric doctrine, Buddha represents the spiritual essence, 'the efficient cause of all'. Dharma is the material essence, the 'plastic cause'—'a co-equal bi-unity with Buddha'. *Saṅgha* is the compound of Buddha and Dharma, 'the immediate operative cause of creation'.

Certain Northern Buddhist sects interlink the doctrine of the *Tri-ratna* with that of the *Tri-kāya*, and look upon Dharma as the *Dhyāni-Buddha*, and *Saṅgha* as the *Dhyāni-Bodhi-sattva*.

Triśūla (S.) Lit. *tri* (three), *śūla* (points), a three-forked flame which Burnouf believes to be the invocation of the 'highest'. The *triśūla*, which is an emblem of Buddhism, is represented in the form of a trident, and may surmount a round object, which Beal believes to symbolize the sun with a flame or '*Empyrean* above it'.

There is much diversity of opinion in regard to the *triśūla*. According to d'Alviella, 'some have seen therein the monogram of Buddha; others, the symbol of Dharma, the Law, which sums up the doctrine of Buddhism; others, again, a representation of the *tri-ratna*, the

three-fold jewel formed by Buddha, his Law, and his Church'. Sir George Birdwood claims that the *trīśūla* stands for the Tree of Life, and by some it is looked upon as a symbol of lightning. According to Burnouf, it is merely one of the sixty-five signs of Buddhahood which adorn the impression of the Master's feet.

The Singalese Buddhas have a three-forked flame issuing from the *ushnīṣha*. The Svābhāvika sect, a generally accepted school of Buddhism in China, took for its emblem a *trīśūla* rising out of a lotus-flower (v. p. 5). The *ūrṇā* on the forehead of some of the Buddhas in the Turfan frescoes discovered by Herr von Le Coq have a red flame-glory forming three points. Among these Buddhist frescoes¹ is one of a trident surmounting an eight-spoked wheel, on either side of which is a gazelle, thus symbolizing the sermon of the Buddha in the deer-park at Benares.

Tri-yāna (S.) Lit. 'three vehicles'—the Mahāyāna (great vehicle), the Madhyama-yāna (middling vehicle), Hinayāna (lesser vehicle), the three Buddhist means of attaining Nirvāṇa.

Tsa-tsa (M.) Moulds of Buddhist gods made of ashes of saints mixed with mud and corn. v. *Śarīra*.

Tse-bum (T.) v. *Kalaśa*.

Upāyikā (S.) Theistic triad—Dharma, Buddha, and Saṅgha.

Ūrṇā (S.) The *ūrṇā* is the fourth of the thirty-two superior marks of a Buddha, and is represented by a small, round protuberance above the bridge of the nose.

The Sanskrit word *ūrṇā* means 'tuft of hair', which, according to tradition, should be white and 'shine like silver'. It indicates a predestination to Bodhi.

In the Buddhist scriptures the *ūrṇā* is referred to as follows: 'The countenance of Buddha was transfigured, while the tuft of hair on his forehead radiated forth a brilliant light'. And again, 'Gautama was seated on a white lotus supported by a white elephant. From a white spot on his forehead shone a brilliant light which illuminated the universe.' The Japanese believe that five colours radiated from the *ūrṇā*.

The *ūrṇā* is the divine eye—a sign of spiritual insight. According to Havell, it is the 'spiritual consciousness of soul-sight as distinguished from eyesight and intellectual perception' (*Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 50).

Both the Buddhas and Bodhisattva have the *ūrṇā* on the forehead as well as, sometimes, on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. The Bodhisattva on the frescoes brought from Turfan by Herr von Le Coq have the *ūrṇā* on the forehead and breast outlined by a red flame, thus resembling the flaming pearl (v. *cintāmani*).

It is difficult to make out the origin of the *ūrṇā* unless it came from the superstition of the people of Northern India, who believed that if the eyebrows met over the bridge of the nose it was a sign of great mental superiority.

Ushnīṣha (S.) (T. *Tsugtor*.) The protuberance on the skull of the Buddhas.

The *ushnīṣha* is the seat of the intellectual faculties—the receptacle of the divine *manas* of the Buddha. The Platonists believed that the soul was centred in the head, which notion, according to Mead, was 'presumably the influence of the old Oriental mystic doctrine of Asia Minor or higher Asia'. They further believed that the soul had a radiant vesture (Augoeides) which manifested itself 'spark-like'. If we accept the hypothesis that the *ushnīṣha* is the receptacle of the *manas* of the Buddha, might not the flame, which is sometimes represented issuing from the protuberance, indicate the 'spark-like' radiance of the 'vesture of the soul'?

The *ushnīṣha* is the first and most important of the thirty-two superior signs of a Buddha, and probably the last acquired. In the Indian scriptures the Buddha at his birth, or in the different episodes of his life before his supreme Enlightenment, is not represented with the

¹ In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

protuberance of the skull. It is not until he achieves Buddhahood under the Bodhi-tree that he is represented with the full-sized *ushnīṣha*. (v. the Buddhas.)

Ushnīṣha means 'turban' or 'dressed hair'. The Gandhāra school never represented the Buddha with the protuberance on the skull, but with long wavy hair drawn up on the top of the head in a cluster of curls, or a knot which concealed, or took the place of, the protuberance. They thus seem to have followed the Brahmanical representations of the Buddha, for the ninth *avatār* of Viṣṇu was represented with long hair arranged in a knot on the top of his head.

According to Buddhist tradition, which was followed by the Indian artists, the hair of the Buddha should be short, the curls falling from left to right, and the protuberance should also be covered with short curls.

The shape of the *ushnīṣha* varied somewhat in different countries.

In Nepal the protuberance was round on the top and placed nearer the forehead than in North-Eastern India, where it was represented more pointed in shape. The *ushnīṣha* of the Nepalese Buddhas was sometimes surmounted by a ball from which issued a flame. In the *Sūryanāmaśāstra* it is written, 'Buddha caused to issue from his head a flood of glory composed of a hundred precious rays'.¹

In Tibet the protuberance was higher than in India, and often surmounted by a flaming pearl. There are examples of a small protuberance above the usual *ushnīṣha* the whole surmounted by a pearl.

In China and Japan the *ushnīṣha* was generally low and large at the base, sometimes with a tonsure on the top of the protuberance. The Tibetan type, however, was often followed. In Japan the *ushnīṣha* is called *fou-ken-tcho-so*, or the 'invisible form of the skull'. It was believed that only the initiated were able to see the protuberance on the skull of a Buddha.

In Burma and Siam there was either a high, pointed flame issuing from a low *ushnīṣha*, or a spike-shaped head-piece, often elaborately ornamented, entirely covering the protuberance. In Cambodia the *ushnīṣha* was very pointed.

In Java the protuberance was either low and small at the base, or high and large at the base.

In Ceylon the *ushnīṣha* is usually very low, and the Buddha almost always has a three or five-forked flame rising from the top of the protuberance. It is one of the characteristics of the Singalese Buddhas.

The protuberance of the skull, according to Grünwedel, was regarded as a sign of supernatural wisdom of a Buddha. According to Eitel the *ushnīṣha* was first a coil of hair, which later took the form of a protuberance on the skull. Schlagintweit claims that the Buddhist sculptors adopted the style of representing the Buddha with a coil of hair on the top of his head because it was the Brahmanical way of dressing the hair. They thus 'conferred on their sublime Master this prerogative of the highest Indian caste'.

Utpala (S.) Blue lotus. v. *padma*.

Uttara-bodhi (S.) *Mudrā* of best perfection. (J. *Renge-no-in*.) All the fingers are locked (the palms turned underneath), with the exception of the thumbs and indexes, which touch at the tips, the fingers being extended upward. In Japan the second fingers are also often upright, while the other fingers are in the above pose. The attitude is emblematic of the lotus-flower, and is the *mudrā* of Buddha, Liberator of Serpents, Avalokiteśvara (p. 63 and Pl. xx), Kuan-yin (Pl. LXIV), and of Batō Kwan-non (Pl. xxxii, figs. c and d).

Vāhana (S.) The mount of a god. The mount of Amitābha and Sarasvatī is a peacock; that of Akshobhya, Samantabhadra (Fugen), Yakushi and Kongō-satta is an elephant. The mount of Vairocana and of Mañjuśrī is a lion; of Tsaṅgs-pa is a horse or dragon; of Lha-mo is a mule.

¹ Beal, *Catena*, p. 289. v. *sūrya*.

Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Tārā, and the female form of Kuan-yin, as well as Jambala, may be on a roaring lion. v. *Simhanāda*.

Vajra (S.) (T. *rdo-rye*, M. *vañir* or *oñir*, C. *kin-kang*, J. *kongō*.) Lit. 'diamond', or that which is indestructible. Generally translated 'thunderbolt', or that which destroys but is itself indestructible. It is likened to the Mystic Truth which cannot be destroyed, or to Wisdom that destroys all passions.

The *vajra* is claimed by some to be of Western origin and an adaptation of the thunderbolt symbol held by Jupiter. The Assyro-Chaldean gods were represented holding a trident (v. *trīśūla*) with the points zig-zag shaped, representing lightning. In Mesopotamia the gods hold a double trident, which is also found in the caves of Ellora, as well as other parts of India, in the hand of Śiva. The Northern Buddhists believe that Buddha wrested the *vajra* (double trident) from the Hindu god Indra, and adopted it as a Buddhist symbol with the slight change of closing the points of the darts. The Indian *vajra* with three darts is flat and the points do not touch. The Tibetan 'thunderbolt' with four darts is round, and as the points are closed the two ends resemble lotus-buds in form. A fifth dart runs through the centre of the *vajra*, from end to end, making five darts, which represent the five bodies of the Dhyāni-Buddhas.

In Japan the *vajra* (*kongō*), called *doko* (or *tokko*), has only one dart, which is four-sided. There is also a three-darted *vajra*, the *san-kō*, which resembles the Indian form in that it is flat and that the points are not closed. The five-darted *kongō*, the *go-kō*, differs from the Tibetan *vajra* in that all the five darts are outside. It is looked upon as representing the five elements as well as the five bodies of the celestial Buddhas. If the *vajra* has seven darts around an eighth, it is called *kyūkōkyō*. For 'nature' *vajra*, v. *Himitsu Jirin*.

Padmasambhava introduced the *vajra* into Tibet, and through his influence it became most popular. The priests adopted its use to exorcise devils, and it was also introduced into the ceremonies for worshipping Amitāyus (v. s.).

In the esoteric doctrine the *vajra* is the mystic symbol of the *liṅga*, and the expression, 'in *vajra* attitude', is the attitude of *yab-yum*.

The *vajra* is the special symbol of Akshobhya and of Vajrapāṇi. Vajradhara holds it in his right and the *vajra*-handled bell in his left hand, as does also Trailokyavijaya, Kongōsatta, and Aizen-myō-ō; Vajrasattva holds it balanced on his right hand, while the left hand holds the *vajra*-handled bell on his hip. The *vajra* is carried as an accessory symbol by all the Yidam, but not by the Dharmapāla.

Vajra-dhātu (S.) The *maṇḍala* of the Two Parts (*Vajra-dhātu* and *Garbha-dhātu*) occupies a most important position in the teachings of the Yoga doctrine. v. *maṇḍala*.

According to Kōbō Daishi, who founded the Yoga school (Shin-gon) in Japan, the teachings of the mystic doctrine were too profound to be expressed by words, and could only be taught to the ignorant by means of illustrations. The 'Two Parts' are therefore represented by two diagrams, for details of which see Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Short History of the Twelve Japanese Sects*, p. 88.

The *Vajra-dhātu* is the 'diamond' element. *Vajra* is here translated 'diamond' rather than 'thunderbolt', and represents the Spiritual world, or complete Enlightenment—the esoteric teachings of the Dharma-kāya as against the exoteric teachings of the Nirmāṇa-kāya. It is the sixth element, the *manas* (mind), and is symbolized by the triangle with the point below (v. *tri-kona*), as well as by the full moon. It is located in the West, and is symbolized by the setting of the sun.

The *Garbha-dhātu* is the 'matrix' or 'embryo' element—the Material World. It is likened to the womb in which all of the child is conceived—its body, mind, &c. It is the *vīja mantra* A, which contains all the universe—protects and nourishes it. It is *reason*, form, and the

five elements—earth, water, fire, air, and ether. It is symbolized by the triangle resting on its base, which is found in the diagram of the *Garbha-dhātu* above the five-leaved lotus enclosure in the Sarvajña section (Pl. XVI). The full-blown lotus (in reality, the sun) is also its symbol.

The location of the Matrix-element is in the East, and is symbolized by the rising of the sun.

The *Vajra-dhātu* and *Garbha-dhātu* are one, for Wisdom cannot exist without Reason, nor Reason without Wisdom, and this is expressed by the *Maṇḍala* of the Two Parts, as well as by the *mudrā* of the Six Elements (v. *Vairocana*). The Union of the Spiritual and the Material is symbolized in Nepal by the flame rising from the lotus-flower or moon-crescent (v. *Vajrasattva*) and by the flame rising from the *kalāśa* as seen in the paintings on the inside of the covers of the MS. Add. 1643 in the University Library, Cambridge; in Tibet, by the *āsoka* branch in the ambrosia vase; in China, by the willow in the *kalāśa*; in Japan, by the *vajra* issuing from the ambrosia vase (Pl. XVI), as well as by two *vajras* interlaced, and in both the Chinese and Nepalese *yin-yang*. (The Japanese *yin-yang* contains three segments.) The *mantra*, 'Ōm, maṇi padme, hūm!' is an expression of the Mystic Union (v. *Ōm*), as is also the *mudrā* of the dogmatic form of Avalokiteśvara; and the Ni-ō signify the Two Parts. In fact, the Yoga school of Mahāyāna Buddhism is founded on the *One-ness* of the *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadhātu*.

Vajra-hūṃ-kāra (S.) *Mudrā* of Buddha Supreme and Eternal. The wrists are crossed at the breast, which indicates intensity, and the hands hold symbols, usually the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*. Special *mudrā* of Vajradhara, Saṃvara, Trailokyavijaya, and of most of the gods when holding their *śaktis*.

Vajrāsana (S.) v. *Āsana*.

Vara (S.) or *Varada*. *Mudrā* of Charity. The arm is pendent, with all the fingers extended downward, and the palm turned outward. *Mudrā* of the Tārās and of many gods.

Vihāra (S.) Buddhist monastery.

Vīja (S.) (J. *Shu-ji*.) Root, radix, seed. The germ of a *mantra* (v. s.)—a mantra-seed. A *vīja mantra* is a letter or syllable used in casting spells and in the invocations of the gods (v. *dhāraṇī* and *sādhana*). The elements came from the *vījas*. In the *Pujā Kāṇḍa* it is written: 'from the *vīja* of the letter *Y*, air; from that of the letter *R*, fire; from that of the letter *V* (or *B*), water; from that of the letter *L*, earth, and from the letter *A* proceeded Ākāśa, or ether (v. *Vajradhātu* and *Ōm*). The most commonly known *vīja mantra* is that of Avalokiteśvara, 'Hri!' which is a contraction for *Hridaya* or '(Sacred) Heart'.

Viśvavajra (S.) Lit. 'double-*vajra*', or thunderbolt, is the special symbol of Uśṇīṣhaviyā and Amoghasiddhi and his *śakti*, Tārā. Saṃvara has it in his head-dress. v. *Vajra*.

Vitarka (S.) *Mudrā* of argument. The dogmatic attitude is represented with the arm bent and all the fingers extended upward, except either the index or the ring finger, which touches the tip of the thumb, forming the 'triangular pose'. The palm of the hand is turned outward. Mystic gesture of the Tārās and of the eight Bodhisattva. In Japan the *mudrā* called *semmui* corresponds with the *vitarka*, the only difference being that the index and thumb do not touch at the tips. The thumb is pressed against the palm of the hand.

Yab-yum (T.) Lit. 'Father-Mother'. Attitude of a god (*yab*) when embracing his *śakti* (*yum*), also called 'in *vajra* attitude'.

Yakṣa (S.) Demons in the suite of Kuvera.

Yāna (S.) Vehicle. v. *Tri-yāna*.

Yin-yang (C.) Lit. 'female-male', or the two first causes. The primal causation is represented by a circle divided into two equal parts. In China the two equal segments are in tadpole shape. In Nepal they are divided by a wavy line (v. Hodgson, *The Journal of the Asiatic*

Society, vol. xviii, Pl. III). In Japan the corresponding symbol is a circle divided into three equal tadpole-shaped segments.

Yoga (S.) From the Sanskrit root *Yuj* or 'union'. It signifies the union of the Spiritual with the Material, or communion with the Universal Spirit, and is represented by the *Maṇḍala* of the Two Parts. v. *Vairocana*.

The Yoga is the practice of ecstatic meditation, and was introduced into Hinduism by Patañjali in the second century B.C. It was grafted on the Mahāyāna System by Asaṅga, in the middle of the sixth century A.D., introduced into China A.D. 720, and into Japan by Kōbō Daishi in the ninth century.

Yogacārya (S.) Lit. 'school of Yoga'.

Zushī (J.) Small Japanese travelling shrine in which is enshrined the image of a god. (v. Pl. XLIII, fig. c.)

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